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Nuclear Weapons Speculation in Ossetia Continues

Russian TV reports the "situation in South Ossetia still is causing concern," and is "complicated further" by the transfer of a "large consignment of weapons to the Georgian armed forces" from the Transcaucasus Military District, according to Oleg Teziyev, chairman of the South Ossetian Council of Ministers.

In a related NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA report, Teziyev adds that if "Russian Army subunits continue their support for the Georgian thugs...the South Ossetian people and armed forces will respond immediately." "We have arms that have not yet been brought into play," the chairman asserted, "and we will take all possible steps to defend ourselves." In response to speculation of nuclear weapons in South Ossetia, the council chairman stated that "our supporters" "with the worthy aim of comforting themselves or with a provocative aim in view, are circulating these rumors," Russian TV reports.

According to INTERFAX, Irakli Batiashvili, the Georgian Bureau for Information and Intelligence director, denied reports about the presence of nuclear weapons in Ossetia and stated the information "apparently concerned a device simulating a nuclear blast at the military exercises."

Azerbaijan Internal Ministry's Additional Powers

INTERFAX reports that Acting Azerbaijani President Isa Kamberov granted additional powers to the Internal Ministry "'due to the tense situation in the republic.'" Interior Ministry department chiefs now have the right to "arrest citizens for 30 days for their insubordination to the militia men, and non-fulfillment of their lawful demands and instructions." Also, department employees can "conduct unauthorized searches" at the work places and residences of people, who have firearms, and carry out "a private search of the people who are suspected to unlawfully store weapons." "The decree is effective beginning May 28 for a month."

Russia To Grant RSA Most-Favored Nation Status

ITAR-TASS reports that the Russian Government, after talks with F.W. de Klerk, president of the Republic of South Africa, RSA, approved an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between the two governments. "The document stresses that Russia and the RSA will accord one another most-favored status in all fields." "One important aspect" of the agreement "is that the sides will ensure the protection of investments and the creation of favorable conditions for them on the basis of the principles of nondiscrimination and reciprocity."

Counterintelligence Head Dismissed

Vladimir Klishin, head of the Main Counterintelligence Directorate of the Russian Security Ministry, was "relieved of his position" on 3 June at a meeting of the Russian Committee for Defense and Security Affairs, Radio Rossii reports. His dismissal comes as a result of a special commission's investigations into "abuse of official positions among high-ranking employees of the ministry" some of whom were "found guilty of corruption, while others were charged with abuses of a mercenary nature."

Ukraine Urges Freezing Russian Capital

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry sent a note to the foreign ministries of the countries of the former Soviet Union, urging them "to assist in preserving the state property of the former USSR" and "to prevent any attempts of changing the status of that property...until a final decision on its division is made and the legal successor states come into possession of that property", reports UKRINFORM. A Moscow TV report specifically states that Ukraine asked all governments to freeze Russian capital abroad. The report cites a Radio France International correspondent who noted that "this move was caused by concern over the fair division of the former USSR's assets."

S. Ossetian Calls Nuclear Arms Talk 'Rumors'

LD0306182192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Video report by V. Vinogradov from South Ossetia, including recorded remarks by Oleg Teziyev, chairman of the South Ossetian Council of Ministers; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in South Ossetia still is causing concern, and the report about nuclear weapons in the area, with which the South Ossetians are planning to threaten their neighbors, has aggravated the situation further. In order to get to the bottom of this situation, Vesti has spoken to Oleg Teziyev, chairman of the South Ossetian Council of Ministers. He has confirmed that he has made no mention of this in his speeches for two weeks.

[Teziyev] It is possible that some of our supporters, either with the worthy aim of comforting themselves or with a provocative aim in view, are circulating these rumors.

[Vinogradov] According to Teziyev, the situation is complicated further by the fact that the Transcaucasus Military District has handed over a large consignment of weapons to the Georgian armed forces. Given the conditions that Eduard Shevardnadze has not yet fully gotten to grips with in the situation around Tskhinvali, or to be more precise, is not in control of the armed formations shelling South Ossetia, this is leading to a further escalation in the conflict. Teziyev confirms that the requisite desire for peace does exist in South Ossetia.

[Teziyev] We want to put a stop to military actions today, without postponing it for one minute, and we will cease our military actions under the conditions of a mutual agreement being reached.

Further on Nuclear Weapons

MK0306110092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 92 p 1

[Alan Kasayev report under the "South Ossetia" rubric: "Nuclear Threat From Tskhinvali. South Ossetian Premier Promises To Open 'Second Front' Against Russian Army Subunits"]

[Text] South Ossetian Prime Minister Oleg Teziyev has resolutely condemned the recent introduction of Russian Army assault troop subunits into the territory of former CIS Army helicopter and engineer sapper regiments in the Tskhinvali region. He said that this constitutes an extension of the policy of betraying the Ossetian people which has been pursued by the Russian leadership over the last few months. Teziyev thinks that loyalty to Shevardnadze, the incumbent Georgian State Council chairman, will do neither the Ossetian, nor the Georgian, much less the Russian, people any good. If the Russian Army subunits continue their support for the Georgian thugs, as they have done so far by handing over arms and taking part in the fighting themselves—and the South Ossetian leadership has incontrovertible evidence of this—the South Ossetian people and armed forces will respond immediately. The premier said, we have arms that have not yet been brought into play, and we will take all possible steps to defend ourselves. When asked about the truth of the recent statement by Alan Chochiyev, one of South Ossetia's leaders, regarding the possibility of using the Tskhinvali authorities' nuclear weapons, Oleg Teziyev confirmed this information, adding that it is not a matter of mass-produced [seriyniy vid] nuclear weapons (?!—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA).

Ossetian Device Said To Simulate Nuclear Blast

OW0306141292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1256 GMT 3 Jun 92

["Ossetia Might Have a Device for Simulating Nuclear Bursts"—INTERFAX headline; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After the military expressed their negative opinion, the director of the Georgian bureau for information and intelligence Irakli Batiashvili also refuted the information on the presence of nuclear weapons in Ossetia. He declared that the information apparently concerned a device simulating a nuclear blast at the military exercises.

At a session of the Georgian state council Batiashvili stated that the groups of supporters of the ex-president Gamsakhurdia which show their activity in Western Georgia turned to terroristic organizations which ignore political methods of struggle. It is necessary to undertake corresponding measures towards them.

Nuclear Submarine Explodes, Leaves One Dead

LD0306103792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0957 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Murmansk—On May 29, the electrical compressor of a nuclear submarine exploded at a base of the Northern Fleet as a result of which one person was killed, 5 injured.

As PF [POSTFACTUM] was told on June 2, at the headquarters of the Northern Fleet on the eve of this accident, the submarine commanded by Captain Vasiliy Melnik was on a training exercise at sea. It transpired that when the electrical compressor was started at sea, vibration and external noise appeared. The specialists of the electrical engineering combat unit (CU-5) postponed the investigation of the reasons for malfunction until the return to base.

After the vessel returned to base, the chief of the Electrical Engineering Service of the division Captain Konstantin Lyashkov arrived on board. In his presence the aggregate was started. When the compressor was put on the running duty, the vibration stopped but after several seconds the buffer tank of the compressor blew up.

As a result of the explosion 5 members of the crew were injured and Captain Lyashkov was reported dead on arrival to hospital. A team of the Northern Fleet is currently looking into the causes of the explosion. The garrison Procurator's Office is continuing its investigations. The outcome is not known to date.

No 'Security Hazard' Caused

LD0306170192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1558 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS— An electric compressor that exploded on board a Russian nuclear submarine in the North Sea on 29 June did not cause any security hazard to its nuclear power unit. The accident occurred far from the nuclear compartment and there is no basis for any possible ecological threat to the region, the chief of the Russian Navy's press-service, Captain Valeriy Novikov informed today ITAR-TASS

As reported earlier, the incident took place after the return of the sub to its base from a training task. As a result of the explosion five sailors were hurt, and Captain Konstantin Lyashkov succumbed to his injuries on his way to the hospital.

An investigation into the cause of the explosion is underway.

Radioactive Emissions Discovered in Moscow

LD2905195292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Six-hundred sources of radioactive emission have been discovered in Moscow. A spokesman for the Agency on Environmental Protection said the situation was so serious that a special set up had been formed so as to decontaminate the places. Nuclear waste in 16 of the 600 [as heard] places, including two in Moscow's Gorkiy Park, are producing over 1 million microroentgens. This dosage can affect people's health and even kill people.

Warehouse Accident Involves Low-Level Radiation

LD3005095192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] An accident took place at Sheremetyevo-1 yesterday morning when boxes of isotopes were being loaded. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS writes that they were second category isotopes, which means they had a low level of radiation. That is why they were packed only in boxes made of a thick layer of polystyrene. A driver who was sent to transfer them reversed his car right into them. One of the boxes crashed and exploded. The freight warehouse was shut right after the accident. All the employees were evacuated.

Naval Chief Denies Nuclear Arms on Sunken Ship

LD0106170792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1535 GMT 01 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—There were no nuclear armaments on the "Otvazhnyy" big anti-submarine ship which sank not far from Sevastopol, in the Black Sea, in August of 1974, Vladimir Lyashenko, first deputy chief of staff of the CIS Navy, told TASS on Monday [1 June]. He denied reports of the "PRAVDA UKRAINIY" newspaper which quoted Greenpeace as saying there were several torpedoes with nuclear warheads on the battleship.

Lyashenko said there were five torpedoes, but none of them had a nuclear charge. The torpedoes and other potentially dangerous armaments of the sunk submarine Chaser were destroyed by the Black Sea naval units, he added.

Industry Opposes Grachev Nuclear Test Appeal

LD0206145292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1433 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Representatives of war industry opposed on Tuesday [2 June] the call of Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, to ban all nuclear tests and agreed only to limit the number of explosions.

Radiy Ilkayev, chief designer of the Federal Research Institute of Experimental Physics, told the international conference "Democratisation of Society and Military Security" under way in Moscow, that a complete ban on nuclear tests will lead to a degradation of the Russian nuclear potential.

The idea was reiterated by other representatives of the military-industrial complex, however several of them said they believe nuclear tests can be stopped without damage to any of the interested sides.

Grachev told the forum on Monday [1 June] that the Russian leadership resolutely stands for a complete stopping of nuclear tests.

However, Russia has not yet adopted the final decision on the issue. The moratorium on nuclear tests expires on October 26.

Siegfried Fischer, a German scientists attending the conference, told TASS nuclear deterence can be provided without nuclear arsenal at all. There are so many nuclear power stations in the world, that in case they are destroyed during a war by conventional weapons, the effect will equal that of a nuclear strike, he explained, adding Western businessmen are ready to invest into scrapping former Soviet nuclear weapons.

Ukraine Confirms Nonnuclear Status to NATO

LD0306203492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2002 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Trotsenko]

[Text] Kiev June 3 TASS—The foreign minister of Ukraine, Anatoliy Zlenko, during a meeting with ambassadors of member countries of NATO accredited at Kiev, announced the special significance for Ukraine of the coordinated statement issued on 22 April 1992 by the NATO council in respect of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and also the protocol on the START treaty signed in Lisbon on 23 May 1992.

The minister handed over a note to ambassadors, in which it is emphasised that Ukraine realizes the immense threat to world peace and security posed by the process of nuclear proliferation, stands by ensurement of the universality of this treaty and joining of it by all countries. The document states that "Ukraine voluntarily concedes the right to possess nuclear weapons, which it had as one of the equal states, legal successor to the former Soviet Union. The right and the burden to possess nuclear weapons belonging to the former Soviet Union with the direct consent of Ukraine and other states, legal successors to the former Soviet Union rests with the Russian Federation, as insisted upon by it."

Ukraine has the undisputed right to receive guarantees to its national security from a possible threat of force or its use against Ukraine by any nuclear state. Ukraine hopes to receive such guarantees prior to the ratification of the START treaty and counts on support from NATO member states on this issue," the document said.

A considerable part of this important document is devoted to interrelations between Ukraine and Russia. It is in particular underscored that Ukraine can really become a non-nuclear state only when "conditions are created excluding the very possibility of launching strategical nuclear weapons against any other state from the territory of Ukraine. Ukraine will insist that in accordance with understandings achieved within the CIS framework, the Russian Federation goes ahead with the creation of a system of effective control from the side of the president of Ukraine over not using of nuclear strategic weapons deployed on the territory of Ukraine until the period of its total destruction." In order to fulfill this fully justified and very important ensurement of this international security demand, Ukraine counts on support from member states of NATO, it states.

"Ensuing from its prinicipal stand, Ukraine cannot recognise any kind of special status for the Russian Federation in comparision with other states, legal successors to the former Soviet Union, regarding treaties, properties or pledges of the former Soviet Union. The exclusion is the understanding reached within the CIS framework regarding the continuation by the Russian Federation membership of the United Nations organization, including its permanent membership of the U.N. Security Council," the announcement emphasised.

'Gaydar's Logic' on Nuclear Power Program Eyed

PM0206140492 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 92 p 2

[Report by K. Belyaninov: "Russian Government Very Short of Energy"]

[Text] On 26 March of this year Ye.T. Gaydar, first vice premier of the Russian Government, signed directive YeG-P11-11639 on the resumption of the construction of nuclear power stations on Russia's territory and the expansion of the capacities of existing ones.

This decision could cause a stormy reaction. Suffice it to recall that the AES [nuclear electric power station] construction program in the former Soviet Union was completely axed six months after the Chernobyl accident, after rallies and demonstrations involving many millions of people. At that time even Gorbachev, who repeatedly spoke of the acute energy shortage, did not dare to resume the nuclear program: The consequences of this step could have been too unpredictable....

Gaydar's decision seems all the more strange in that it was signed two days after the incident at the Leningrad AES which made all the world start talking about the safety of our nuclear power industry. The German ecology minister, followed by politicians in France, Britain, Sweden, and a dozen other countries, categorically demanded the closure of all 16 reactors of the "Chernobyl" type operating on CIS territory, with all the others to be placed under rigorous international monitoring. You can argue, of course, about what prompted such a stormy reaction: real concern for the safety of our AES's, or the purely commercial desire to force Russia out of the international market in nuclear services. But there are also the findings of the commission set up by the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy immediately after the Leningrad AES incident, and these are capable of alarming even the layman: The defect that led to the accident near St. Petersburg was found in virtually all the 11 RBMK [high-power pressure tube] reactors located in Russia. Six power units at the Kursk and Leningrad stations have already been shut down solely because of failures in the operation of shutoff-regulator valves. Each of them was producing a million kilowatts of electricity.

After the complete closure of the Chernobyl station, which produced more than 10 percent of Ukraine's energy, a bitter joke became current in the republic to the effect that they would have to advance to independence in total darkness. This is no less real a prospect for Russia: The electricity shortage has already become possibly the main problem for the Far East, Siberia, and at least 10 oblasts in central Russia. But Gaydar's new "energy" plan will not do much to help here: Its proposed additional 10 million kilowatts a year will only be able to alleviate the crisis slightly, certainly not to eliminate it.

Nonetheless, according to the vice premier's decision, nuclear power stations are included on the "list of most important construction projects for 1992, which will be financed out of Russia's republic budget." A government resolution of 30 December 1991 already approves the continuation of construction work at the Kola, South Urals, Bilibin, Smolensk, and Balakovo AES's. To replace the currently operating Karelian, Inta, Kirov, Kaluga, and Volgograd GRES's [state regional electric power stations], nuclear power stations will be built, using them as bases.

Most likely on this occasion the ecological community will prefer to keep quiet. First, under Gaydar's plan some of the funds from running the power stations will go to local budgets—for building roads and hospitals and improving life in other ways. And second, a whole package of privileges is envisaged for the inhabitants of oblasts adjacent to the power stations: from financial compensation for the potential danger, to virtually free use of electricity. I am sure that given the current growth in prices, this consideration will sound more convincing than any calls to protect nature.

In January the Ministry of Economics determined the cost of the "nuclear program" for the first quarter—793.8 million. Now Ministry of Atomic Energy specialists claim that at least 20 billion will be needed just for the first three months. Economists prefer not to discuss where these funds are to come from.

Gaydar's logic is clear. The "Outline Plan for the Development of Nuclear Power in the Russian Federation" defines it quite unequivocally: "The program of economic reforms being pursued by the Russian leadership, oriented toward increasing the people's well-being, cannot be fulfilled unless the further development of the power industry is built into its foundations." The atomic experts' logic is also clear. The suspension of the nuclear program has already put thousands of specialists out of work, and its resumption will give them at least some opportunity to stop worrying quite so much about the future. Only one thing is not clear: Why do even the members of Russia's Supreme Soviet not know about the government's crucial decision, to say nothing of the public? After all, the document approved by Gaydar says quite clearly on this point: "It is necessary to form positive public opinion (about nuclear power—editor's note) on the basis of openness, objective information, and the possibility of public supervision..."

USSR Nuclear Legacy Issue 'Considered Closed'

PM0506084392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 May 92 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Golts: "Ten Years Not Needed for CIS States To Agree To Implement START Treaty"]

[Text] I do not know if it was specially arranged or if U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker just got tired of flying to the former Soviet Union every month to coordinate the positions of the new CIS states. At any rate, it was supremely symbolic. The protocol on the implementation of the START Treaty was signed by Byelarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine, and the United States during the Lisbon conference on questions of aid to the former Union states.

These two problems—disarmament (primarily nuclear disarmament) and the provision of aid—have recently been the main, if not the only, subjects in CIS representatives' dealings with the outside world. The relationship between the two problems is obvious. The world is seriously concerned about the prospect that the social upheaval and interethnic conflict on one-sixth of the earth's surface will escalate into warfare involving the most sophisticated weapons, including nuclear weapons. That is why it is urgently necessary to reduce these weapons as quickly as possible. Aid should be provided in order to prevent any deterioration in the situation.

But some of the CIS states, seeing the link between disarmament and foreign aid, drew not entirely accurate conclusions. They expected that, if they took advantage of the fact that nuclear weapons belonging to the former Union are located on their territory and declared their rights to them, they could become de facto nuclear powers. Consequently their status in relations with the West would be enhanced.

The proposed ratification of the START Treaty, which has been worked on for a good 10 years, was a suitable opportunity for them to assert themselves in this new capacity. So Ukraine and then Kazakhstan declared their intention together with Russia to become parties to the treaty.

Statements were issued one after another justifying the claims to nuclear weapons—which would, it seemed, require another 10 years of talks among the CIS republics on the implementation of the treaty already signed.

But the pretenders to the nuclear club failed to take account of the fact that Washington is able to defend what it considers its vital interests. And, unlike Moscow, it has the means to make people listen to what it says. L. Kravchuk's visit to Washington demonstrated quite visibly that there could be no question of any cooperation without clear commitments to an agreement on nonnuclear status. Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev preferred to state his intention to adopt nonnuclear status prior to his Washington visit.

As a compromise the Americans proposed that a protocol be signed which, although registering the accession [podklyucheniye] of Byelarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to the START Treaty, at the same time required that they accede to the Nonproliferation Treaty. This was the protocol signed in Lisbon.

Thus, it seems as though the dispute about the former USSR's nuclear legacy can be considered closed. The Soviet Union's place in the nuclear club has been taken by just one state—Russia. We should heave a sigh of relief... and thank Washington yet again. And we should think again about why the CIS republics prefer to resolve their disputes and conflicts with the help of transatlantic coordinators and mediators.

U.S. Anti-Missile Defense Cooperation Viewed

LD0106083392 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 29 May 92

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Reports from Washington say that President George Bush intends to offer Russia to take part in a global anti-missile defense system as President Yeltsin arrives for talks there next month. Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov.

Mr. Bush's initiative comes as a response to Moscow's move earlier this year for joint effort by Russia, the U.S. and other countries to create anti-missile defense for the protection of the world community from a possible nuclear attack. The Russian president outlined his concept at a Security Council meeting in New York and discussed it later with the President at Camp David.

The substance of Moscow's proposal is to try to get U.S. agreement for cooperation in the anti-missile defense conditional on a review of the problem by both sides. The Americans are expected to re-orient their SDI program originally conceived as defense against the now defunct Soviet threat, while Russia is expected to contribute its achievements in space and nuclear-related research.

Speaking at a news conference in New York on 31st January, President Yeltsin outlined what steps could be taken in the event of U.S. support for his initiative. Initially, experts and designers on both sides can be made to work together to develop a global anti-missile system. This can then be manufactured and launched into outer space with the help of other nuclear powers. And finally, conditions must be created for the system to be run jointly.

The White Houses's immediate response to the plan was positive, with Mr. Bush saying that the idea was of considerable interest to the United States. Four months later the prospects of bilateral cooperation are taking clearer outlines.

Reports say that the assistant secretary for defense for international security policy, Stephen Hadley, speaking at this month's congressional hearings said that the administration was planning to make relevant proposals to Russia and other states. There's also the idea of forming a group to provide a shield against missile atack. Mr. Hadley's concept includes sharing information on early warning of ballistic missle launches, cooperation in helping the members to improve anti-missile capabilities and cooperation in missile defense activities. The question is one of coordinated use of U.S. missile interceptors and Russian launch detection information to protect U.S., Russian and other territory under ballistic missile attack.

The two sides will no doubt hold further discussions at the forthcoming summit in Washington. But the very fact of the newly emerging cooperation in a sensitive area such as anti-missile defense is very promising, both for the prospects of friendly relations between the U.S. and Russia and for greater international security as a whole.

Quadripartite Statement on Moldova Issued

PM0106102392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 May 92 First Edition p 7

["Statement by the Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Romania, and Ukraine"]

[Text] Being deeply concerned at the deterioration of the situation and noting the need to prevent an escalation of the conflict on the territory of Moldova, the ministers called for the adoption of the following urgent measures:

—immediate observance of the cease-fire;

—return of armored vehicles to the 14th Army;

—return of all military formations and military hardware to where they are stationed;

—safeguarding of security at the Dubossary Hydroelectric Power Station and other vital facilities;

—continuation of military observers' missions in areas of confrontation.

The ministers instruct the mixed commission to immediately prepare a report on further steps to settle the conflict.

Committee, Moldovan Deputies Meet

OW0306221692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1933 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Chisinau Wednesday [3 June] the committee of the Moldovan Parliament on international relations met with the members of the combined committee from the Foreign Ministries of Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, and Romania on the Dniester region conflict.

Members of the quadrilateral committee said they must continue to look for a solution to the conflict. The Chairman of the parliamentary committee, First Deputy Prime Minister of Moldova Constantin Oborok accused the Dniester side of not wanting to compromise. He said that after the Dniester Parliament decided to seek independence the bilateral conciliatory committee hit a dead end and reviving the committee is problematic.

Speaking at the Chisinau meeting, the Russian representative Vladlen Vasin was against the immediate withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova. He said the army's presence is a restraining factor which prevents the conflicting parties from launching wide-scale military operations. He stressed that if the 14th Army is withdrawn there is no guarantee that the equipment and weapons will not fall into the hands of the conflicting sides.

Nagorno-Karabakh Preparatory Meeting Opens

LD0106131192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1126 GMT 1 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Polunin]

[Text] Rome June 1 TASS—An extraordinary preparatory meeting of representatives of 11 participating states in the forthcoming international conference on Nagorno-Karabakh opened in the Italian capital today. The CSCE-sponsored conference will take place in Minsk late in June. Italian parliamentarian and diplomat Mario Raffaelli will chair the forum.

During the present meeting, diplomats from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Russia, Byelarus, Italy, the United States, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, France and Turkey will discuss jointly with representatives of the Armenian and Azeri communities of Nagorno-Karabakh the situation in the region. Their goal is to narrow the gap in the warring parties' positions on ways to settle the Karabakh conflict. They will also discuss the possibility of sending CSCE observers to the enclave.

U.S.'s Eagleburger Meets Journalists in Moscow

MK0106101792 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 30 May 92 p 2

[Vladimir Strakhov report: "Americans Support Reforms"]

[Text] There has been a meeting with journalists in the U.S. ambassador's Moscow residence in which Laurence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, took part. Within the U.S. Administration he is responsible for economic and humanitarian aid for the CIS. Eagleburger talked about the latest session of the U.S.-Soviet Trade and Economic Council. Admittedly, the U.S. visitor "stumbled" over the word "Soviet," but it should not be replaced by the word "Russian." The council comprises more than 300 U.S. firms of varying kinds and roughly 400 enterprises, financial institutions, and higher educational establishments from the Commonwealth, Baltic region, and Georgia.

Eagleburger stressed that the council, which was meeting for the first time since the collapse of the USSR, has come up against the new political and economic realities. The deputy secretary of state has met with prominent U.S. businessmen, who are so far taking a cautious view of the changes in the former Union, and he has tried to interest them in developing economic cooperation with the now independent republics. On the other hand, it was confirmed at the council session that humanitarian aid shipments, above all food, are being increased.

Eagleburger also announced that during his meeting with Russian Vice Premier Ye. Gaydar he had assured the latter of the U.S. Government's support for the course of economic reform in Russia.

Documents Note KGB-Staged Anti-U.S. Protest

MK0306110592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
3 Jun 92 p 2

[M.A. report: "Demonstration For Five Thousand"]

[Text] Top-secret documents that have emerged from oblivion in the archives enable us to take a new look at the history of Soviet-Indian relations. Thus, according to a document that has come into the hands of the U.S. press, in 1969 KGB Chairman Yu. Andropov asked L. Brezhnev in a memorandum if he could stage an anti-U.S. demonstration outside the U.S. Embassy in Delhi. Andropov assured the CPSU chief that the KGB office could get together 20,000 protesting Muslims for just 5,000 rupees, at the time equivalent to $500. Cheap and nasty, as they say.

Chernavin Remarks on Mediterranean Presence

PM0106151092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Mikhail Ilinskiy report on 29 May press conference by Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander of the CIS Navy, in Rome: "Admiral Chernavin: Our Military Presence in the Mediterranean Is Minimal"]

[Text] Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander of the CIS Navy, is in Rome on his first official visit, at the invitation of the Italian Defense Ministry.

The purpose of the visit is to develop relations between the CIS and Italian Navies and define new relations, including links in the sphere of scientific and technical cooperation, the widening of traditional links between naval seamen, the exchange of delegations, and reciprocal visits by ships, as well as tourist trips. The admiral's visit aroused great interest in the Italian press, and this defined the nature of the journalists' questions at V.N. Chernavin's Friday news conference.

"A navy must necessarily belong to a state," the admiral stressed. "A ship is a part of the territory of the state whose flag and other symbols it bears. This is enshrined in international law and international agreements dating from 1982. The legal heir to the naval forces is the Russian state. It is another matter that other countries with access to the sea may have their own navies. That is their right.

"With regard to the presence of naval ships in the Mediterranean zone, there is a subtle point here," V.N. Chernavin went on. "It is that by virtue of certain circumstances our Navy has switched from a presence there on a permanent basis to periodically reducing or increasing the number of ships in the region. Today, for instance, the number of combat vessels is minimal, but that does not mean that the number will not be increased tomorrow, because of exercises and so forth."

The next question was: "What is the situation in the Black Sea, what is the status of the Black Sea Fleet? How are the talks going between Russia and Ukraine on the whole range of naval problems?"

"Talks were conducted at the level of military delegations, but they were unable to remove all the problems," the admiral replied. "The discussion has now moved to the level of government delegations. It is a question of the number of ships to be handed over to the Ukrainian Navy when it is formed. The main bulk, including those that carry nuclear weapons, should remain under Russia's jurisdiction. A certain proportion of the ships are to be transferred to Ukraine, with limited functions: protection of borders, monitoring of various types of activity in coastal waters, and so forth.

"Today we can say," the admiral went on, "that all the tactical weapons that were in the fleet have been withdrawn to Russian territory, and there are no longer any such weapons in the Black Sea."

To conclude the news conference Adm. V.N. Chernavin expressed gratitude to the Italian Defense Ministry for receiving the delegation.

"We are linked to Italy," he said, "by the Treaty on Preventing Incidents in the High Seas. We seek cooperation, including scientific and technical cooperation. I think we have great prospects in this sphere."

Shaposhnikov Meets With DPRK Envoy 29 May

PM0106141792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 May 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in the High Command"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, received DPRK Ambassador to Russia Song-Pil Son at the latter's request 29 May. Questions of mutual interest were discussed during the conversation, which took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Mongolian Leader Reports Troop Withdrawal

LD3105230392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1335 GMT 30 May 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo May 30—Prime minister of Mongolia, Dashiyn Byambasuren, announced today that the withdrawal of the former USSR troops from the territory of Mongolia is expected to be completed by September 1992. In an interview with the Japanese "ASAHI" newspaper he said that, according to an understanding reached with the Russian side, it will be followed by the annulment of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Help, signed with the former Soviet Union in 1966.

The Mongolian prime minister, who was taking part in an international conference on problems of providing aid to this country, reminded that at a certain time the number of former USSR Armed Forces personnel on the

Mongolian territory had reached 100,000 men. However, according to him, it has been reduced to approximately 5,000 at the present moment.

Following the beginning of the democratization and reform process in Mongolia in 1990, it started conducting a policy of "keeping itself equally away from the USSR and China" and not joining any alliances, "ASAHI" wrote. According to the paper, Byambasuren reaffirmed intention of intensifying this policy and follow "a policy of consistent neutrality."

Head of the Mongolian Government said that its own 20,000 strong armed forces are meant for protecting the borders of the country. According to him, the present number of the Armed Forces personnel is quite sufficient to fulfill these functions.

Black Sea Fleet Issues

Ukrainian Official Rejects Grachev's Remarks

LD0206105792 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Secretary of the commission for issues of defense and state security of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Oleksandr Tarasenko characterized the statement of the defense minister of Russia, Pavel Grachev, as groundless and having no juridical force.

Speaking yesterday in a live program of the Ostankino television company, Grachev said that in his opinion the Black Sea Fleet must be subordinated to the chief command of the CIS United Armed Forces. In an interview for the Noviny television and radio agency, Oleksandr Tarasenko underlined that the defense minister has no powers to make such statements, for a negotiating process is underway between Ukraine and Russia. An agreement has been attained on status quo of the Black Sea Fleet until the final settlement of the problem.

Oleksandr Tarasenko declared at the same time that the position of Ukraine remains invariable. All the ships of the Black Sea Fleet registered at the Ukrainian port belong to Ukraine.

Command Accepts 'Almost All' Claims on Fleet

OW0306135992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1256 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia and the command of the Black Sea Fleet have signed an agreement on the gradual transfer to Georgia of the ships and military property in Poti and Ochamchir. Colonel Tamaz Tskhakaya, who led the Georgian delegation at the Sevastopol talks, announced at a press conference on Wednesday [3 June].

He said that the fleet commanders have accepted almost all of Georgia's claims. However, he refused to give the exact number of ships and only said that these are going to be 3rd-class ships (anti-boat ships, mine-sweepers, patrol boats and small assault ships).

Tskhakaya said that at the initial stage the Russian navy will help Georgia create its navy. The naval personnel will be trained in Poti.

Tskhakaya told IF [INTERFAX] that there were no Ukrainian representatives at the Sevastopol talks. He said, however, that Georgia and Ukraine had a preliminary agreement on the property of the Black Sea Fleet.

Further on Transfer of Equipment

LD0306201692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1622 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From "Military News" section]

[Text] Sevastopol—An agreement has been signed between Georgia and the Black Sea Fleet command concerning a step-by-step transfer to Georgia of the ships and military property in Poti and Ochamchiri.

On June 3, addressing a briefing by the Georgian Defence Ministry delegation that on May 26-29 held talks with the Black Sea Fleet command in Sevastopol, Georgia's deputy defence minister, Colonel of the Guard Tamaz Tskhakaya who headed the Georgian delegation and the chief of the Navy Administration of the republic's Defence Ministry, Commander Aleksandr Dzhavakhishvili also said that practically all demands put forward by Georgia have been met. But they refused to cite specific figures concerning, in particular, the number of the vessels that are being handed over claiming that the figure is being finalized. According to them, Georgia will only get 3rd-class vessels: anti-submarine ships, mine trawlers, patrol boats, small landing vessels and other equipment, both sea- and coast-based. All the equipment and outfit will be handed over complete.

It has also been announced that Georgia will train its Navy officers in the Batumi Navigation Academy while privates will be trained at the Poti base. At the beginning, Navy specialists from the Russian Federation will help their Poti colleagues in training cadre. Asked if Ukraine had participated in the talks, Tamaz Tskhakaya answered it had not but said that the Georgian leadership had preliminary agreement with Ukraine on the Black Sea Fleet property division.

Baltics

Baltic Assembly Begins Second Session 29 May

LD2905160992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1333 GMT 29 May 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Palanga (Lithuanian republic] May 29, TASS—A second session of the Baltic Assembly opened in this Lithuanian resort town on Friday [29 May].

In his opening speech, Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis emphasised "the need to pool the efforts of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and other Baltic states in order to facilitate the earliest withdrawal of the occupation army from the territory of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian republics".

The three-day session is attended by Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic Arnold Ruutel, parliamentary delegations of the Nordic Council, the European Council, Benelux countries, representatives of Sweden, Iceland, Norway, Poland and Russia.

Today the delegations are considering drafting an interstate treaty on cooperation of Baltic states.

Reviews Nordic Council Draft

LD0206010692 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Today's Baltic Assembly session examined a draft treaty on the assembly's cooperation with the Nordic Council. Priorities were defined in areas of mutual concern to both sides. These include the formation of democratic institutions, cooperation in the area of legislation and law and assistance in the defense of human rights. Joint actions are planned in the specialized fields of nature protection and the purification of the Baltic Sea.

In the field of politics, common measures are intended for the withdrawal of foreign troops and ensuring nuclear safety over the entire Baltic Sea region.

Official Quoted on New Alliance

OW0206024892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1917 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Baltics are not prepared to create such structures as Benelux or Northern Council because "we have just left one alliance and would not like to be bound up with a new one". Estonian deputy Hillar Eller, chairman of the Baltic Assembly's Presidium (its session ended in Palanga (Lithuania) Sunday [31 May]) told BF [BALTFAX].

Nevertheless, the final document of the Assembly says an intergovernment treaty of the Baltic states would be "expedient". The three sides expressed willingness to start working out a draft of such a treaty.

The Assembly adopted a draft regulatlons of the Baltics' legal bureau. Its main goal will be informing the Baltic states about laws and working out joint concepts of laws and conventions. An agreement on cooperation between the Baltic Assembly and the Northern Council was also signed.

The next session of the Baltic Assembly will take place later this year in Estonia.

Benelux Model Pondered

PM0306153192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Nikolay Lashkevich report: "Baltic Countries Invite CSCE To Participate in Talks With Russia"]

[Text] Vilnius—The second session of the Baltic Assembly—in which the heads of the Baltic states, parliamentary delegations from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Nordic Council, and the Council of Europe, representatives of the Benelux countries, and guests from Russia took part—has ended in this Lithuanian resort [Palanga].

After a long lull in relations between the three Baltic states caused by the search for solutions to each individual country's own problems, it seems that the idea of comprehensive cooperation now holds sway. As V. Landsbergis, who addressed the session, noted, the aim of the assembly is to pool the efforts of the three countries' parliamentarians to deepen multifaceted cooperation. We need to pool our efforts in all areas, particularly defense, V. Landsbergis stated, since the events of recent months show that there is a threat to the sovereignty of our countries. The head of the Lithuanian parliament even proposed that we consider the question of whether Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia might set up a Baltic version of Benelux.

In the view of the session participants, the idea of setting up some kind of quite stable formation making it possible to coordinate actions in certain spheres of the three states' life, was very strong at the sessions. This is shown, in particular, by the documents adopted at the session. There were recommendations on legal mutual aid, coordinated action in the sphere of education, culture, and science, the expansion of communications systems, and joint work to secure energy resources. The Baltic Assembly also instructed the Baltic Countries' governments and parliaments to start preparing a draft on renewing the economic cooperation accords signed back in April 1990 but not implemented. A treaty on parliamentary cooperation between the Baltic Assembly and the Nordic Council was also ratified.

Obviously, the theme of unification was voiced with renewed force in the face of the threat which, in the Baltic parliamentarians' view, really exists and is posed by the Russian troops deployed in the Baltic. This issue was at the center of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian delegations' attention at the Palanga meeting. The leaders of the three states signed the Baltic Council statement "On the Increasingly Frequent Illegal Actions By Russian Troops on the Territory of the Baltic Countries." The document stresses that full responsibility for the consequences lies with Russia. A special appeal on the Russian troop withdrawal adopted at the session claims that the Russian Army is "continuing to violate the Baltic countries' sovereignty" and that this seat of tension could become a further factor for destabilization in Europe. Appealing to the European parliaments and interparliamentary organizations to help eliminate the consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Assembly considered it expedient for CSCE representatives to take part in the bilateral troop withdrawal talks between the Baltic countries and Russia.

Interstate Treaty Discussed

LD0206185292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By correspondent Juozas Kavolis]

[Excerpts] The Baltic Assembly, embracing the three Baltic States, held its second meeting in Palanga last weekend. The focus of talks between the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian parliamentarians were on the interstate treaty. All three states issued reports on this topic. The Assembly's final document called on the respective Baltic governments to begin a draft on an interstate treaty.

Aurimas Taurantas, deputy chairman of the Baltic Assembly Presidium and deputy of the Lithuanian parliament, told Vilnius Radio that political, legal, and economic cooperation between the Baltic States would be enhanced by the preparation of a tripartite interstate treaty. He believes there are no obstacles to such a draft treaty at the present time.

[Begin Taurantas recording] I do not see any political obstacles to concluding such a treaty. There may be different viewpoints, however, on the speed at which such a treaty could be drafted. For example, the Estonian representative Ulo Nugis said in his report that it would be impossible to conclude the treaty immediately. He said that the expediency of preparing and concluding such a treaty is linked with Estonian elections, scheduled for September at the latest, and that further decisions on the issue should be left for the new parliament. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Tuarantas noted that while the political situation is different in all three Baltic States, this did not impede the work of the Baltic Assembly.

[Begin Taurantas recording] [Passage omitted] We can learn from the path the Estonians have traversed. I think they did quite well. I am aware of their constitutional draft and other documents. We understand that the situation in Latvia, generally speaking, is more complex for reasons well known to everyone. These reasons compel Latvian politicians to be more united. [end recording]

Documents Approved

LD0106180892 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 31 May 92

[Excerpts] The plenary meeting of the second Baltic Assembly session [word indistinct] has ended. NATO Deputy General Secretary Philip Merrill stated at the meeting that NATO defense ministers have adopted a communique concerning the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic countries. Merrill said the defense ministers are awaiting specific proposals concerning how they could contribute to making negotiations with Russia as effective as possible.

Merrill emphasized that the united efforts of the three Baltic states could [passage indistinct] sooner. [Passage indistinct] more active in diplomatic areas, expressed the conviction that relations will soon be established with [word indistinct] and the Baltic countries.

Documents were approved by the committee following long discussions. The documents contain recommendations for the Baltic States' Juridical Bureau rules and the legal assistance agreement, recommendations concerning coordinated actions in the education, culture, and science area, recommendations regarding development of communication systems and concerning joint coordinated actions in securing [words indistinct], provisions to acknowledge the expediency of an interstate agreement, and to begin preparation of its draft per the economic cooperation agreement signed between Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia on 12 April 1990. There was also a call to finish and sign an agreement for legal assistance. In addition, a parliamentary cooperation agreement between the Baltic Assembly and the Nordic Council was signed.

The documents of the second session were signed by Baltic Assembly Chairman Aurimas Taurantas and deputies Marius Budovskis and Ulo Nugis.

An appeal was also adopted concerning the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Baltic States' territory. [passage omitted]

The next Baltic Assembly Session is scheduled for Estonia in November 1992.

An Estonian delegation representative, Hilar Eller, was elected Assembly presidium chairman.

Military Cooperation Agreed

OW0306194392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1818 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [2 June] heads of the Baltics' Defense Ministries signed a protocol on setting up a single defense system and cooperation in the military sphere, Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis told a press conference in Riga Wednesday [3 June].

It was said that although the Baltics do not see any potential adversary, they need to create their own defense system in cooperation with republics of the former Soviet Union.

During the meeting the three sides determined the main guidelines for cooperation: military-technical sphere, operational information exchange, creation of military attaches' institution, preparation of a plan of actions in case of emergency, as well as cooperation in setting up a single air defense system.

Jundzis indicated as one of the urgent tasks coordination of efforts for holding talks with Russia on the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The next meeting of the Baltics' defense ministers was scheduled for July. They will discuss border control.

Central Asia

Central Asian Political Realignments Assessed

MK2905133492 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 May 92 pp 1,3

[Igor Rotar article under "Diplomacy" rubric: "Central Asia: Moscow Plays Waiting Game and Risks Missing Out"]

[Text] Russian policy in Central Asia is still fairly vague. Moscow's wait-and-see tactics present a sharp contrast to the activity shown by Ankara and Tehran, which have openly entered the fight to share out spheres of influence in the region.

However, political realities are changing rapidly in Central Asia. Instead of the usual party functionaries of yesterday who successfully transformed themselves into the presidents of independent states, Russian diplomats may soon have to deal with uncompromising representatives of the Islamic opposition who have no respect for the Center (even the former Center). And even the Ashgabat [Ashkhabad] meeting, which was not a major success, may develop into a new Asian alliance if the former northern metropolis delays in responding.

The changes in Central Asian politicians' ideas appeared most clearly at the summit in the Turkmen capital involving the presidents of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Iran, and the heads of the Pakistani and Turkish Governments.

The meeting was expected to be sensational. It was thought that the abortive Bishkek attempt by the Central Asian and Kazakh heads of state to form a kind of Turkestan alliance was to be revived in a new form—with the creation of an Asian alliance on a common cultural base. As in Bishkek, the Turkmen president upset the plans. Saparmurat Niyazov rejected Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev's suggestion that a common innovations fund and hard-currency bank be set up. Turkmenistan's desire for independence is easy to understand. As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has said (5 February 1992), natural gas is the republic's salvation. From exports of natural gas alone Turkmenia is now receiving $1,500 per capita per annum. Ashgabat is to receive a $10 billion credit from Saudi Arabia to develop the oil and gas industry.

The main surprise at the meeting in Ashgabat was nonetheless the Turkmen leader's hitherto unusual bad temper. At recent presidential "get-togethers" in Bishkek the Uzbek and Kazakh leaders voiced some skepticism over the viability of the CIS. At the meeting in the Turkmen capital both presidents had considerably "warmed" toward their northern partners. Thus, Nursultan Nazarbayev said: "...We are strengthening our relations with all countries, but our exclusive feeling toward Russia, with whom we will closely link our policy and lives in the future, should take pride of place." The Uzbek president, who quite recently favored the idea of the Central Asian republics pooling their efforts, said that "he would not accept an economic association of Central Asian republics in any form whatsoever."

After the Central Asian leaders' aims had emerged in Ashgabat, the positions which they espoused at the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Tashkent came as no surprise. The summit's main document—the treaty on collective security—was signed by Kazakhstan and the Central Asian states, apart from Turkmenistan.

There are several reasons for the changes in the Central Asian leaders' stance.

Iran's advantageous geographical position in relation to Central Asia inevitably caused it to dominate the fight with Turkey for influence in the region. It was decided in Ashgabat that the oil and gas pipelines will cross the Turkmen-Iranian border, so Tehran will have an excellent opportunity to control these energy resources that are so valuable to the world today and consequently dictate its terms. It is no coincidence that, on returning home, Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani told journalists that his state had played a pivotal role at the meeting in the Turkmen capital.

The strengthening of Tehran's positions causes concern among the leaders of the regional superpowers—Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan—who have declared their commitment to the Turkish model of development, thus pushing Alma-Ata and Tashkent into closer cooperation with their northern partners.

However, Islam Karimov also has other ideas for geographical realignment. The similarity of his state and Tajikistan in a number of fundamental ways (the considerable influence of traditional society over public life, a deeply devout population, and the existence of a well-organized Islamic opposition) allow one to suppose that Uzbekistan is the most likely candidate for a repeat of the Dushanbe scenario. Islamic Iran would clearly prefer Karimov's opponents from the clearly religious opposition movements to the former first secretary of the Uzbek communists.

The opposition's accession to power in neighboring Afghanistan is also partially turning Central Asian leaders toward the north. Although Russian diplomats think that the incumbent Afghan defense minister, the Tajik Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, as a realistic politician has no dreams of setting up a "Greater Tajikistan" (northern Afghanistan is mainly inhabited by Tajiks, and this state numbers 3 to 7 million Tajiks in all), there is some likelihood of the situation destabilizing. Tashkent is not concealing its misgivings. In a recent interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (15 May 1992) Islam Karimov said frankly that Uzbekistan's desire to sign the treaty on mutual security with other CIS countries (Tashkent believes that Russia should act as security guarantor) is linked with the changes in Afghanistan.

So, the leaders of most of the Central Asian republics have turned to Moscow. Russian activeness today could considerably strengthen its positions in the region. It is hardly appropriate to maintain links with official structures alone—contacts with both the government and the opposition will ensure Russia's positions are stable in Central Asia no matter what turn events take.

Moscow must not forget either that new influential figures may appear on the Central Asian scene in the near future. The Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China borders on the Central Asian states. Roughly 63 percent of the region's population are Muslims (of whom, 7.2 million are Uygurs and 1 million are Kazakhs). China's Turkic-Muslim enclave has long been noted for its restlessness. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has already written (12 February 1992) that in 1933 and 1949 there were attempts to proclaim an East Turkestan republic there. Separatist ideas are fairly strong here to this day. The "Islamic Party of East Turkestan" is active in the region. In the event of disturbances in western China the situation in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan with their sizable Uygur population would undoubtedly deteriorate. India, a state which has for centuries come within the region's geopolitical orbit, would hardly remain aloof for long.

Media

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Jun

LD0406054292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0452 GMT 4 Jun 92

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, June 4 (ITAR-TASS)—The press highlights changes in the Russian government as well as the resignation decision of Russian Central Bank chief Georgiy Matyukhin and of his deputy Vladimir Rasskazov.

Commenting on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decrees on the appointment of four new deputy premiers, the newspaper TRUD emphasises in particular that they are "industrial executives who have the inside knowledge of the domestic industry."

The main reason for the new appointments, the newspaper believes, is in the critical situation in which the industry of Russia has found itself.

"Concentrating efforts on the slashing of the budget deficit and on macroeconomic stabilisation, the Yegor Gaydar government, it appears, has not so far succeeded in activating stimuli to give a boost to production. Meanwhile, production is the foundation without which a success of reforms is impossible.

"The promotion of experienced members of the directors' corps (Vladimir Shumeyko, Georgiy Khizhi and Viktor Chernomyrdin) to key government positions signifies the enhancement of attention precisely to the production sphere," TRUD points out.

In view of the appointment of new deputy premiers in the Russian government, NEZAVISEMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) notes that "the economic team of Gaydar is being increasingly diluted by 'traditional generals of the Soviet industry'."

The newspaper believes that this is the consequence of a "continuous chain of concessions and compromises to the head of government, not the outside world." At the same time the newspaper expresses an opinion that the Russian government "is no longer a closely-knit outfit."

In connection with the resignation statement by Russian Central Bank chief Matyukhin and his deputy Rasskazov, PRAVDA points out that, in the opinion of a number of Russian law-makers, it is precisely the Central Bank management that is guilty of "the payments crisis and the related heavy consequences." The newspaper also quotes Matyukhin and Rasskazov themselves as saying that they see the cause of the crisis "in an inconsistent economic policy being pursued by the parliament and government."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, commenting on Matyukhin's and Rasskazov's resignation statement, expresses a supposition that "'interregnum' in the Central Bank of Russia may last not more than two weeks" and gives the names of likely successors to Matyukhin at the post. At the same time the newspaper states that Matyukhin's resignation has not yet been accepted and much depends on the Central Bank chief's report on the operation of the bank, which is to be heard in the Russian parliament on Thursday.

The problems of the Armed Forces remain one of central topics discussed by newspapers. Today's PRAVDA carries a column of materials on the subject. The newspaper points out in particular that "according to the findings of a sociological survey, 86 per cent of servicemen do not support the present government's policy.

"The interests of the new authorities and those of the Armed Forces, obviously, do not coincide." In this connection the newspaper gives a number of examples of the authorities' disregard for the interests of servicemen.

"World history does not know examples when the Army would suffer such a crushing defeat from the country's own politicians, not from external enemies," PRAVDA states.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) describes the present position of the Army as that of a "sick child."

The newspaper carries an article on the formation of national Armed Forces in Azerbaijan. The article points out in particular that the principal purpose of the republican Armed Forces "is to achieve peace in the Transcaucasus" and to "uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA runs an interview with General Johar Dudayev, leader of the Chechen Republic, who said that "the gaining of full political independence" is now the main aim for the republic. "Following the attainment of this goal, the republic will be able to voluntarily join the Commonwealth of Independent States," Dudayev said.

Confrontation between Chisinau and Tiraspol continues, the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE observes, emphasising that "the Dniester region does not intend to give up political independence." This is precisely what renders a constructive dialogue with the Chisinau leadership impossible.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out that the decision made by the leadership of Russia to withdraw units of the 14th Army from the territory of Moldova has been regarded in an "utterly negative way" by some of the servicemen of the Army who are indigenous residents of the Dniester region.

"We shall not go away from our native land and will not throw our fellow-countrymen at the mercy of fate" is how KRASNAYA ZVEZDA conveys the sentiments of a certain proportion of the military. The newspaper recalls the official position of Chisinau who continues to regard the 14th Army as an "aggressor" involved in the armed conflict on the side of the Dniester region.

International Affairs

Yeltsin on 'Ghosts of the Old Alliances'

AU2905080892 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 May 92 pp 1, 10

[Interview with Russian President Boris Yeltsin by RZECZPOSPOLITA editor in chief Dariusz Fikus and journalist Slawomir Popowski in Moscow, date not given: "The Beginnings of Russian Democracy"

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] The final collapse of the Yalta system has been received with a sigh of relief and given a positive assessment. What should be done to prevent the reappearance of the "ghosts" of the old alliances and counteralliances that were so typical of the former Europe? The danger of such a reappearance is quite real for Poland, situated between Russia and Germany. After all, the likelihood of the Kaliningrad Oblast becoming a settlement area for Russian Germans is causing anxiety. It is believed that this settlement process has already started.

[Yeltsin] I think the processes of integration that have recently started in Europe—the rapprochement between, on the one hand the West, especially NATO, the Council of Europe, and the EC, and so on, and on the other hand the countries of Eastern Europe, including Russia, is a good guarantee that the "ghosts" of the past will not reappear. It is necessary to consolidate and expand these processes in order to defend ourselves against undesirable alliances.

The open sub-regional structures that have been appearing lately may complement the process of all-European rapprochement. We highly praise the positive role of the recently-formed Council of Baltic States. We believe this Council will serve to improve relationships between the CSCE member countries. Russia is prepared for that. I am convinced that the Helsinki July summit will be a major step toward that objective.

I do not think there is any serious reason to fear any danger to Poland from democratic Russia or Germany. Lech Walesa probably had an opportunity to realize that when he visited Germany recently. His visit to Moscow should affirm the fact that there is no real basis for such assumptions.

As for the conversion of the Kaliningrad Oblast into an area of Russian Germans, I see no reason for anxiety. About 1,000 Russian citizens of German descent have moved to this area over the past two years, taking advantage of their normal rights. Those not interested in seeking political sensations can easily see that migration to this part of Russia is just the same as in any other part.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What part do Central and Eastern Europe play in Russian foreign policy these days? What elements of the old Soviet policy toward this region would Russia like to preserve, and what elements will it discard?

[Yeltsin] We consider stable and substantive relations with the countries of this region as one of the most important tasks of our foreign policy. Russia has been closely linked to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe for over 100 years, and their fortunes have much in common with ours. I am sure we could be useful to each other, now and in the future. Permanent relations with these countries is an important part of European and world stability.

However, the present contacts between our countries should be given a completely new basis. As we know, after the war, Eastern Europe and the USSR formed a bloc that was opposed to the West. Such an artificial division complicated the lives of the international community, as well as our countries, and this state of affairs must be consigned to the past. We have definitely abandoned the logic of domination, which was the essence of Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe.

The principle of bloc isolationism is completely unacceptable today. The application of this principle has caused our countries varying degrees of harm, and I regret to say that this policy was exported on a broad scale by the Soviet Union.

Interference in the domestic affairs of partners is unacceptable to Russia, and of course, we have firmly abandoned the use of military force in order to protect this or that government against their own peoples and set up puppet regimes. All this should remain in our memories so that it does not happen again.

At the same time, we would like relations between our countries to be as intensive, substantive, and comprehensive as before. I think the lull that has occurred in these relations since the "velvet revolution" has lasted too long. I also consider the resources we are employing in order to activate our contacts in all directions to be exceedingly important.

After the defeat of totalitarianism, it would be unwise to position new iron curtains or refurbish old ones on our borders. Our borders should turn into borders of friendship, for the main obstacles to this have already been removed.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Since the formation of CIS, Poland no longer has a formal border with Russia, if one excludes the Kaliningrad Oblast. In that case how is one to interpret the principle of good-neighborliness and partnership, on which the cooperation accord between Poland and Russia is based?

[Yeltsin] I think that despite everything, the length of a border is not the most important thing in international relations. Geography is not the only component of politics. We have a direct border, apart from which Russia is also linked to Poland by air and sea. There are many other factors, past and present, that join Poland and Russia. Both countries are currently implementing reforms in order to guarantee a civilized life for their citizens and assume an honorable place among the countries of the world. You and we are dismantling the totalitarian system, which has taken root not only in state structures, but also in culture, causing major losses to the people's spiritual life.

Just like the other former socialist countries, Poland and Russia are acquiring a new understanding of Europe for the first time in a history that is no longer divided, but is still not united.

All this creates a good basis for the development of partner-like and good-neighborly relations. I think the similarity of the Polish and Russian languages and the fact that our citizens can understand each other without the help of a translator are helpful here.

We are counting on the hope that the treaty on friendly and good-neighborly cooperation, together with the packet of other Russo-Polish documents that we wish to conclude during President Lech Walesa's visit to Moscow, will impart a new impulse to our joint activity.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Russia has assumed under its jurisdiction the Northern Group of Soviet Forces, whose withdrawal Poland has been seeking to achieve for a long time. Do you think the issue could have been resolved earlier?

[Yeltsin] Talks with Poland on the withdrawal of former USSR forces from its territory have been going on for almost 18 months. The planned withdrawal of these forces commenced parallel with the process of negotiations. According to the draft agreement that has already been initialed, all Russian military units will leave Polish territory by 15 November 1992, and the remaining units will leave by the end of 1993. We expect both sides to discharge the commitments they have adopted without any problems.

The conclusion of the treaty and several other documents has been delayed, but only because of the absence of a solution to financial and property issues. This is not just a technical matter, for it affects the fortunes of tens of thousands of people. One must provide social security safeguards for our soldiers and officers and their families. If we fail to do so, we will create the foundations of instability in the Army, which neither Russia nor its neighbors want. I am sure we will reach a compromise that will adequately suit the interests of Poland and Russia. I think that in this way, I have answered both parts of your question.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] One sometimes has the impression that Russia has reached a crossroads. The fate of the USSR, whose core was the Russian Federation, was determined in the Bialowieza Plain, but it is still not known what is more important for Russia, the establishment of its own statehood, or an accelerated expansion of CIS. Neither is it clear what this new creation is supposed to be, a new form of community, even with federal and confederate elements, or a kind of civilized divorce of the former Soviet republics. What is your opinion of this matter?

[Yeltsin] You are right. Complicated, and by no means unequivocal, processes are occurring inside the former USSR, but these processes did not start in the Bialowieza Plain. The fate of the USSR was determined several months earlier, in August or September last year. At that time there was still a chance that the Union Treaty would be signed by most of the republics. They included Russia, Ukraine, and Byelarus, as well as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, in other words, those republics that formed, as it were, the foundation of the USSR and its economy.

As a result of the putsch, a further development of events in accordance with a scenario by "one of the states" became impossible. In December, there was only Russia and Kazakhstan left in the Union. The rest had already declared themselves sovereign states and placed themselves outside the USSR. That sealed its fate. In order to preserve the traditional and comprehensive ties between our states and peoples and prevent a violent disintegration of the USSR into separate parts, it was necessary to find some new form of coexistence quickly. The basic principles of this coexistence were established in the Bialowieza Plain. They also lay at the basis of CIS. They say that it is necessary to establish at least some sort of balance between the process of creating individual states and the development of relations between them.

We were together for so long, our fortunes were intertwined so closely, and our interdependence was so great that a sudden severance of these ties would be ruinous for all countries. Joint, coordinated activity makes it much easier for each country to solve its problems.

It is too soon to formulate final conclusions. The current status of CIS cannot be considered final. CIS is not even six months old, a very short time in terms of human life. The mechanisms of cooperation are only just being formed, and the CIS member states are only just taking their first steps in independent politics. In such a situation it is quite normal that not everything is succeeding. There are sharp differences, but there are also artificial problems.

We have also passed a few critical stages already, and gained far more than we have lost. In the future, much will depend on the wise and realistic politics of the CIS component states. The composition of the CIS may change, of course, though the number of countries belonging to it need not necessarily diminish. It is also possible that the CIS will turn into something like a federation or confederation. In any case, no solution must be imposed. Maximum flexibility must be applied.

In a nutshell, I believe there is a future for the CIS, especially because the nations of the former USSR have not asked for a divorce at all. The politicians should remember that.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Until now you have enjoyed strong support from the democrats, but now the democratic camp is losing its strength. It has disintegrated into competing parties and groups. What political forces do you now seek as your backing?

[Yeltsin] I was chosen by the people. The voters consisted of people of various convictions and political views. I do not think I am wrong in saying that most of them do not belong to any party. It is a characteristic feature of our country that for many years, literally every single sign of independent thinking was eliminated. A cult of uniformity was created, and there was a single party monopoly and single ideology. Today Russia has only just begun to take the first steps toward a normal society, toward democracy. It will take a lot of time before we are finally free of the legacy of the past. Nevertheless, the desire of our citizens to revert to a normal, healthy life is huge. Numerous surveys show all the time that only a small minority of people prefer the former system in Russia. Our citizens are willing to make large sacrifices because they know that that is the price of future prosperity, the price to be paid so that their children can live better than their parents did.

I consider these "parties" of supporters of change to be a pillar of support for the presidential policy of radical reforms. Of course, I do not mean parties in a literal sense. Political diversification is a very sluggish process in Russia, and distortions sometimes occur. We do not have numerically strong parties with democratic traditions yet, and I do not think they will appear overnight. The long decades of CPSU rule have created a defense mechanism inside most people, and made them suspicious of any political structures. Even the very word "party" has acquired a certain negative undertone. That is one of the reasons why the overwhelming majority of parties and movements (not just democratic ones, but also opposition ones) only have weak support at the grass roots. Changing views on political matters, an absence of realism, and a struggle to achieve ambitions are also contributory factors, of course.

Difficulties in creating a democratic movement are inevitable. Whatever one might say, this movement is developing, and must go through its "childhood diseases." Therefore I would not dramatize these problems. These are growing pains, exacerbated by the extremely difficult and painful economic reforms initiated by the democratic forces of Russia.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Some politicians, even ones very close to you, have asked you, and sometimes even demanded, that you give up your function as prime minister. Yet instead of that, you have temporarily assumed the function of defense minister. How is one to explain such a concentration of power in one person?

[Yeltsin] The question is justified, but one has to view the issue from another angle in order to gain a complete picture. People have been saying all the time that the president should have rather more power than he has at present, that he should ask for extraordinary powers, and even impose a sufficiently harsh authoritarian rule for the period of the reforms. My stance is as follows: I am opposed to power for power's sake, and against an increase in the number of presidential powers as an aim in itself. At the same time, I consider it impermissible to convert the president, elected by the population of a huge country, into a kind of political symbol devoid of responsibility for what is happening in this country and the possibility of influencing the outcome of events. To us, the problem of authority mainly involves establishing Russian statehood, something which was practically non-existent for decades. Russia was almost entirely in the hands of a Union party-state bureaucracy. Individual Russian state institutions, and very weak ones at that, were a direct continuation of central institutions. They enjoyed no independence, neither did they possess their own identity or any significant powers. In the other republics the situation was somewhat different. There, the local authorities alleviated pressure from the center to a certain extent, and acted as a kind of buffer.

It was a great illusion to think that an attempt to force Union bureaucracy and its party-state structure onto Russia would be beneficial to Russia. The Union structures were too accustomed to issuing orders and working for themselves. In addition, these structures had been in a state of disintegration for years. Following the August putsch, the system suffered a seizure, in the literal sense of the term. Russia was faced with the task of building a new, fully valuable, and democratic statehood from scratch. The collapse of the USSR revealed this problem in all its intensity.

I believe that is the context in which one should view the role of the president. It is not quite correct to talk of a large concentration of power in his hands. Presidential power is only just taking shape. In such conditions, "executive" and "genuine" power are not the same thing. The entire system of executive authority is only just being created, and so is the Russian Army and other state institutions. As president, I consider it essential to take part in these processes and spur them on. A slowdown could prove very expensive.

One has to take the initiative when necessary. I consider that essential, but only temporarily.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The first stage of the radical economic reform was remarkably calm, but now people are once again talking about the dangers of releasing fuel and energy prices. Which economic phenomena cause the greatest alarm? To what extent can Poland's experience, both positive and negative, be useful to Russia?

[Yeltsin] Yes indeed, social stability has not suffered, despite the harsh but necessary features of the first stage of the reform, which have affected most people's standard of living. The reform itself is helping people endure this difficult period.

After several years of constant and empty talk, we have finally begun to implement transformations. We have started to act, and the most important thing right now is not to stop, but to move forward step by step. If people see us moving forward and that changes are occurring, it will be easier for them to bear the difficulties. However, if we stop and revert to fruitless talk about the ideal pattern of reform, we will inevitably lose support and the entire reform will be doomed. The limit of patience with endless debates has been exceeded several times already.

Personally, I am worried that our assessment of the reform progress is sometimes too optimistic. The government needs to be a little more self-critical. The price the nation has to pay for the economic revival is too high, and that is why it is very important not to exceed the limit of endurance. I think we have ways of providing greater assistance to the poorest sectors of society. Their social security should be greater than before. I also think that one of the biggest problems now is the question of justice, not just in the sense of communist wage-leveling, but in a humanitarian sense. The point is to protect those who really need this protection, and create development chances for those who want to act on their own initiative.

In the first stage of the reform, the government had to behave like an emergency rescue service. The economy was literally sinking, production was dropping, foreign trade was in a crisis, and so on. Today we have moved one step away from the precipice, and economic policy is gradually acquiring institutional traits. One of the main tasks we are currently tackling is the activation of economic incentives and, most of all, the animation of production. We are concerned not only with the state sector, but also with the growing private sector. Russia is in a special situation because it is an enormous and very diversified country, and because of that it is not possible to implement reforms "from the top" from the Kremlin. Therefore it is vital to find ways of taking part in the transformations to the central government and regions, each of which has its own special situation. I consider the principle of equilibrium in this context to mean self-limitation by everyone for the sake of economic units. Enterprises, firms, farmers, and so on must have guaranteed freedom of action. Another priority of the reform is to increase the efficiency of foreign trade. The possibilities in this sphere have increased considerably, and it is important not to waste them.

I have mentioned only a few of the problems of our reform. Right now the Russian Government is working on the next reform stage. We are examining what we have achieved over the past months, and paying attention to how other countries, including Poland, have solved similar problems. We will adopt many of these solutions, adapting them to our Russian conditions, of course.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What would you say are the main paths of Russian foreign policy? How does the Russian raison d'etat differ from that of the former USSR? How dangerous to Russia could the changing geopolitical balance caused by the disappearance of the USSR be? We are concerned with the increased activity of Turkey and Iraq in the former central Asian republics, as well as the different political concepts of Ukraine, which is trying to join Europe independently and presenting proposals such as a Baltic-Black Sea Community.

[Yeltsin] Every country's foreign policy is closely linked to its domestic policy, and Russia is no exception. We want to be a democratic state based on an energetically-developing market economy, a country that respects the freedom and dignity of the individual and, at the same time, upholds the law. We want the use of force against people and nations, lawlessness, and dictatorship to be consigned to the past forever.

Russia's foreign policy objective is to gain an honorable place in international society and become an open and honest partner for states and peoples in the creative and peaceful activity of all mankind. We reject the principle of divisions according to ideological criteria, and we dissociate ourselves from a class, national, and international struggle for domination. Unfortunately, in Soviet foreign policy we did not succeed in overcoming the effects of the confrontational approach, even though attempts to do so were noticeable toward the end of the Soviet Union's existence. The "cold war" climate had a considerable bearing on practical Soviet foreign policy. Russia has abandoned this legacy consciously and forever.

The situation in the world is changing very quickly, especially the situation in the region where our countries are situated. New political ideas cannot always keep up with the changes. At such times, politics is frequently improvised, and supplemented with emotion. That is a characteristic of the young states that have emerged on USSR territory. Today they are seeking their own paths, and adapting themselves to the new reality and new responsibilities. Nevertheless, despite everything, I am convinced that sooner or later common sense will triumph over illusions. We are gradually realizing what our interests are, and the appropriate activity will gradually be adapted to practical possibilities, though this cannot happen overnight. I am optimistic about the geopolitical changes caused by the elimination of the Soviet Union, mainly because they cannot be separated from the main current of world social changes. They are an integral part of the global processes whose essence is human integration.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Critics accuse Russian politicians of being more interested in good relations with the United States and Germany than in good relations with their closest neighbors. Is this because they want Western help, or do they want something more?

[Yeltsin] I think that is a superficial opinion. We have no intention of swapping one set of friends for another. In any case, the problem does not exist, there is no need for us to choose who we should be friends with. Russia will continue to maintain extensive ties with the former USSR republics, which does not interfere in the development of its relations with the countries of Europe, America, and the remaining continents. We consider such an approach, also on the part of the other CIS states, to be a natural one.

Perhaps the reason why such questions are asked is because Russia has one style of relations with countries closer to it, and another style with countries further away.

Our relations within the CIS, as well as with the Baltics and Georgia, still bear a trace of the former inter-republic relations, and are to a certain extent domestic in nature. Many issues are resolved on a practical, day-to-day basis, and many of the mechanisms left over from the former contacts are still in operation. It would be foolish to eliminate them just because we have inherited them, and not created them.

On the other hand, Russia and the other CIS countries are energetically developing relations with all states, those close and those further away, and that is their inalienable right. The intensity of these contacts has increased considerably, especially because for many of the former Soviet republics, international relations are uncharted territory. A lot has to be built anew, and the artificial isolation must be broken. I repeat, all this does not make it necessary to weaken the traditional ties.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The last question is a personal one. In an interview for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, President Lech Walesa said he misses the days when he was a "good husband, father, lover, and electrician." What do you miss? For another thing, in the West it is said that you are an incalculable politician. What do you say to that?

[Yeltsin] That is not an easy question, mainly because I have no time to dream and reminisce. Sometimes at night when I am not asleep, I think about my youth and student days. I sometimes feel guilty about my wife and children, who have been through no shortage of experiences and sleepless nights, especially during critical periods, of which there has also been no shortage.

As you can guess, the reform is the main subject of my thoughts and concern. The reform does not leave my mind for a single moment. I would very much like the reform to succeed so that the experimental period may end for Russia, a period that has lasted too long. Of course I want the changes to occur calmly, without force and bloodshed.

As for being incalculable, I think that is mainly a figment of journalistic fantasy, the result of an aim to attach malicious labels to every politician. Perhaps some of the activities of the Russian leadership, including the president, may seem unusual in the West, but after all, the situation in Russia is unusual. It requires non-standard decisions, and therefore it requires a suitable political style as well. On the other hand, everyone is unique in his own way, and no office he holds can alter his personality. Only robots can be programmed.

If one takes that into account, the activity of this or that leader becomes more understandable and foreseeable. Political paths are very seldom like railroad tracks. They are usually impenetrable, and one can access them only by means of great sacrifices and physical effort.

Talks, Views on 14th Army Assessed

PM0406102792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 May 92 First Edition p 7

[Report by Sergey Nagayev: "The Conclusions We Select"]

[Text] Anybody, not only an artist, has the right to say: "That's the way I see it!" Sometimes the same facts produce quite opposite conclusions from different people. When this happens with politicians, peoples' destinies, as well as personal interests and predilections, are at stake....

At a news conference in Moscow, Ivan Chebuk, first deputy chairman of the Moldovan Government, said that the 14th Army, which is under Russian jurisdiction, is waging war on a sovereign state, on direct (albeit secret) orders from Moscow. According to the first deputy chairman, that is the conclusion—and the only conclusion—to be drawn from the fact that military hardware which used to belong to the 14th Army has now appeared in the possession of local Dniester Region formations.

I. Chebuk noted: It is nothing short of blatant aggression by Russia, in which imperial sentiments are growing and are impinging on foreign policy. The Republic of Moldova participants in the conflict are Internal Affairs Ministry subunits that have come to the trouble spot from all over the republic, and also local people. There is not a single Romanian to be seen in the combat actions, since the Moldovan leadership has never asked Romania for this kind of "cooperation"....

So said Ivan Chebuk.

We asked the Russian Defense Ministry Press Center to comment on the information. It said that the position of the Russian political and, of course, military leadership on the question remains as it was: The 14th Army did not receive any instructions about aiding the Dniester Region people, so it is a distortion of the facts to talk about Russian aggression. The facts are that some of the 14th Army servicemen come from local towns and settlements and in some cases (against the will of the army command, of course) they are cooperating with Dniester Region formations. However, a commander is not responsible for a soldier who has fled the neutral forces to go to the front. As for this Army as a whole, the recent shelling of its positions indicates that events here are following approximately the same pattern as in Karabakh in the case of the 366th Regiment.

The logic of the way the situation has evolved can be explained. On the one hand, any military formation stationed in a trouble spot attracts the attention of the opposing forces from the viewpoint of obtaining weapons. On the other hand, those serving in the army are also human beings....

Clearly it is on this basis that one should consider the future development of the plot.

Grachev Comments

OW0306194992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Defense Minister General Pavel Grachev said the situation surrounding the units of the 14th Army stationed in the Dniester region is extremely dangerous. Grachev's statement distributed by the Russian Defense Ministry said the constant attempts to draw the neutral forces into the conflict arouses special concern, as do accusations of Russia of "aggression against Moldova".

Grachev warned that if politicians do not use common sense and Moldovan military units begin military operations against the Dniester region and units of the 14th Army, he will have a difficult time maintaining the neutrality of the forces. "The Russian population living in Moldova can rest assured: we will not allow them to be harmed", the Russian Defense Minister said.

RSA To Receive Most-Favored Nation Status

LD0306162392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1445 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Government has approved an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between the governments of Russia and the Republic of South Africa [RSA]. The agreement, received today by ITAR-TASS, notes that both sides will take all necessary measures to encourage and develop their trade and economic relations.

The document stresses that Russia and RSA will accord one another most-favored status in all fields. They will promote the establishment of conditions for cooperation between legal bodies and people, as well as for the setting up of joint enterprises in both countries. The agreement envisages the implementation of a number of measures to develop cooperation and trade and economic activity. One important aspect is that the sides "will ensure the protection of investments and the creation of favorable conditions for them on the basis of the principles of nondiscrimination and reciprocity."

The governments of Russia and RSA have agreed to set up an intergovernmental commission on trade and economic cooperation to implement the agreement.

Kozyrev Statement on Recognition of Macedonia

PM0306112892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 May 92 Moscow Edition p 1

["Own information" report: "Russia To Recognize Macedonia"]

[Text] We have learned from sources at the Russian Foreign Ministry that in the next few hours, the Greek ambassador to Moscow will be handed a message from A. Kozyrev to Greek Prime Minister K. Mitsotakis.

Kozyrev informs him that Russia has decided to regonize Macedonia and that this will be officially announced soon [v skorom vremeni].

"Prompted by the traditional friendly links with Greece and seeking to accommodate your wishes, we had postponed the announcement of this decision," Kozyrev goes on. "We also wanted to obtain assurances at first hand in Skopje about the absence of territorial claims (on Greece—editor's note). Now (in the course of this week's visit—editor's note) we have obtained such assurances, and there is no point in further delaying the announcement of recognition."

Noting that according to information at the Russian Foreign Ministry's disposal, certain EC countries also intend to recognize Macedonia in the near future, irrespective of Athens' position, Kozyrev suggested that Greece be the first EC state to take that step.

Legality of Yugoslavia Sanctions Questions

OW0306174892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1613 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Republican Council of the Russian Parliament was just two votes short of passing a proposal by a leader of the opposition fraction "Russia" Sergey Baburin to discuss the sanctions against Serbia in a joint session of the house.

Baburin and deputies supporting him insisted that the question be considered as follows: "On what basis did the Russian representative to the UN Security Council vote for the introduction of sanctions against Serbia".

The Director of the Department of Information and Press of the Russian Foreign Ministry Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told "IF" [INTERFAX] that the Russian representative to the UN is always governed by directives from Moscow. The decision to support the sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) was made on the political level. "No one acted alone here".

He said that the purpose of the Russian Foreign Minister's visit to the republics of Yugoslavia was to avoid sanctions. A "plan to resolve the conflict in Bosnia and

Hercegovina" was developed. However, several hours after the Russian Foreign Minister's departure the plan "went up in smoke".

Yastrzhembskiy said that imposing sanctions against Belgrade "shows to a certain extent the powerlessness of the world community in resolving the crisis through traditional democratic means".

Spokesman on Sanctions Against Yugoslavia

LD0306084192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0827 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Skripnikov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—There is no other way to settle the conflict in Yugoslavia than to introduce international sanctions against it, a spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry told TASS on Wednesday [3 June].

He commented on recent official statements that the sanctions are "a gesture of despair of the world community, a sign of its inability to stop the conflict in the Balkans".

"It is not a gesture of despair, but a step to settle the crisis", Andrey Gribkov, head of the Yugoslavian department of the ministry said. The U.N. Security Council Resolution 757 requests all states to join the sanctions, and their support of them proves they believe the move will work, he added.

"It is too early to speak about the effectiveness of the sanctions. No one can say exactly what the result can be. The sanctions have just been introduced and they will not yield results in a day", Gribkov said.

Supports Efforts

LD0306182992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1750 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Foreign Ministry has stated that it welcomes the trend of the decisions of the Yugoslav Presidency in connection with UN Security Council Resolution 757.

The statement says that in all practical measures that would correspond to the intention expressed in this decision "to use maximum efforts to fully fulfill the world community's demands" to cooperate with the UN forces in order to stop the bloodshed in Sarajevo and other places, the Yugoslav leadership may count on Russia's firm support.

Intelligence Agents Detained in Azerbaijan

LD0306124792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1224 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—"Reports about the deportation of Russian officers from the main intelligence department from Azerbaijan are groundless. None of the servicemen from the Russian units deployed in Azerbaijan, including military intelligence detachments, was deported", a spokesman for the Russian Defence Ministry told TASS on Wednesday [3 June]. However, he admitted six Russian intelligence officers were detained in Azerbaijan on May 26. The defence and interior ministers of Azerbaijan acknowledged the detention was illegal, the spokesman said.

Tbilisi June 3 TASS - By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov:

One of the officers detained in Azerbaijan on May 26, who asked not to be named, told TASS the details of the incident.

"On May 26 we left for Tbilisi, to the headquarters of the (military) district. We had to fill in the documents certifying the disbanding of our detachments. When leaving Baku the group was detained by local militia and brought to the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry. We were searched, unarmed, our identification cards were taken away and we were interrogated personally by minister Ismet Gamidov. He accused us of anti-Azerbaijani activities and espionage for Armenia. Later Republican Defence Minister Ragim Kaziyev joined him and advanced the same accusations. We were even threatened we can be shot dead if we refuse to agree to the accusations and repent.

When the command of the military district learned what happened, negotiations began. We got back everything that had been confiscated and were set free.

TASS asked one of the generals of the Russian military intelligence to comment the incident.

"During negotiations the defence, national security and interior ministers of Azerbaijan first refused their involvement in the incident. However, later they were compelled to acknowledge that their actions were illegal. I believe, the incident was planned to trigger tensions in Azerbaijan against the Russian Army and the Russian leadership. This plays into the hands of several political circles on the eve of presidential elections in the republic".

Commentary on CIA's Gulf Operations Report

LD0206155692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The United States administration has asked for almost three times bigger allocations set aside for the CIA for holding an operation to overthrow the Iraqi president, Saddam Husayn. The report came from the newspaper LOS ANGELES TIMES, with reference to reliable sources. Commentary by Yuriy Solton:

Informations [as heard] on allocations for the CIA covert operations are a state secret. Its leakage to the American newspaper seems quite trustworthy. When the Desert Storm operation under the American command brought about the defeat of the Iraqi Army many wondered why the culprit of the aggression against Kuwait, Saddam Husayn, remained in power. Some explained the fact by the desire of the American Administration to preserve Husayn's regime as a counterbalance to anti-American Iran, with which Husayn had waged an eight-year war. However, the Iraqi president's positions have become so strong that the results of the coalition victory may become worthless. This seems to have made Washington change its position.

Last May it was announced that the CIA would receive $50 million for holding an operation against Husayn. Now the White House demands $40 million. It's noteworthy the campaign to destabilize the Baghdad regime was sanctioned by President Bush after the failed uprising of the Kurds and Muslim Shi'ites in Iraq.

There are grounds for fears concerning the possible new Iraqi military threat in the Gulf zone. Pressurized by the United Nations' sanctions, Baghdad agreed to eliminate the mass destruction weapons and the technology for their production. Iraq has already destroyed a large portion of its Scud missiles and the equipment for their production. Chemical ammunition has also been scrapped. Destroyed are facilities in al-Athir which constituted one third of all the nuclear arms producing plants on the territory of Iraq. But according to the United Nations Security Council experts, Baghdad does not fully comply with its commitments so far to eliminate the banned weapon systems and does not give up plans to restore its military machine.

Still, any open action—and it's also a talk in Washington [as heard]—or secret CIA operations against Saddam Husayn may only make the situation still worse in the Gulf zone. The United Nations Security Council seems to be able to keep the situation under control and prevent the restoration of the Iraqi military threat.

Official Previews Yeltsin's Visit to U.S.

LD0306052992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0120 GMT 3 Jun 92

["The head of the President of Russia's administration has talked about the preparations for President Yeltsin's visit to the United States, has refuted the statement by CIA Director Gates on the activation of Russian special services activity"—ITAR-TASS headline; by ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Agureyev]

[Text] New York, 3 June—"During the state visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the United States, scheduled for the middle of June, 12 and perhaps even 15 treaties, agreements and documents of all kinds, of varying complexity and importance will be signed," Yuriy Petrov, head of the president of Russia's administration who is here, said in an interview with the ITAR-TASS correspondent before leaving by air for Moscow. "The most important of them is a political document, 'the charter on partnership and friendship' between our countries. We also regard as very important another agreement, in which we have managed to agree upon and have made considerable progress: on cooperation in the peaceful development of space. A whole series of economic agreements connected with dual taxation and the protection of foreign investments also will be signed."

In spite of the fact that the U. S. Congress will evidently not manage to approve the Administration's bill now on a package of measures for rendering aid to Russia before President Yeltsin's visit to the country, the head of the Russian Federation president's administration continued, "we are hoping, nevertheless, that the visit itself and President Yeltsin's speech at Congress—such a speech is planned—will be the last straw which will promote and assist in the adoption of this law by Congress."

During the meetings with politicians and Congressmen, Y. Petrov went on, talks have been held on the desirability of the swiftest possible adoption of this law, since it is connected with the abolition of a whole series of restrictions from "Cold War" times. What is meant, the head of the Russian president's administration defined more precisely, are 264 different restrictions which are consolidated in U. S. legislation. "Naturally, today they are holding back normal economic cooperation between our states, including in the area of using high technologies," Y. Petrov stressed. "It seems to us that we have succeeded in making serious progress on this issue. Here we have met with complete mutual understanding and once again informed them of our concern and interest in the swiftest possible solution of this issue."

Commenting on the recent utterances by United States CIA Director Robert Gates, who stated that the activity of the special services of the former USSR in the United States have not decreased since August 1991, and also expressed doubt as to whether the Russian administration knows about this activity which is being conducted by its intelligence departments, the head of the Russian president's administration stated: "We are in the know about the activity of our special services, both in America and in other countries as well. I cannot agree with the assessment of CIA Director Gates because there has been a considerable cut in our special services of late."

"From the point of view of specific issues we are making the following suggestion: Representatives of our relevant departments can discuss this issue," continued Y. Petrov. "You see, we have very many subjects for cooperation. First and foremost, it is the struggle against drug trafficking and the fight against terrorism that are at issue. I think that there is a whole series of other issues as well that we could discuss at the negotiating table and remove mutual concern. You see, the fact is that the CIA also is continuing its work in our country, Russia. We know of a whole series of attempts to recruit our citizens, of approaches to them undertaken recently. The activity of the American special services has not decreased in the least, but has on the contrary increased. Therefore,there is a subject for a joint talk with the Americans. We are ready to hold this conversation, taking into account the openness and the level of our relations which have formed today and which will take shape tomorrow. In this process it is also necessary to look to tomorrow somewhat. At the same time, the intelligence service is a state instrument, and one cannot either reject it or stop its activity. It is another matter that it should conduct itself within civilized frameworks, observing laws, procedures, and certain ethics. We are prepared for such work."

As Y. Petrov went on to report, the Russian side has posed the American Administration the question of granting permission for the new building of the Russian embassy in Washington to be used. "In connection with the fact that in their time, the Americans found special devices in the embassy complex in Moscow and are not moving into it, they're not allowing us to move into the new building in Washington, either. The question was posed by us: What existed 7-10 years ago, and the embassies were designed probably 15 years ago, does not at all correspond to the present level of our relations today which are founded on trust and partnership. The Americans have promised to examine these issues in the most attentive manner, and we hope that these problems will be resolved in the very near future. The solution of this issue would become a distinctive symbol in our relations. All the more so, since on our part, as is known, all the designs for the embassy in Moscow were handed over to the American side, which is something the Americans did not do."

Kozyrev Comments on Yeltsin's Upcoming U.S. Trip

LD0106094692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0218 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] A state visit by Russian President Yeltsin to the United States and Canada is to take place on 19-20 June. Here is what Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has to say about the program of this visit.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] Preparations for the meetings are in full swing. My conversation in Lisbon with Secretary of State Baker was devoted to this. At the center will be issues of the new political relationship between Russia and the United States, which will evidently find expression in some kind of major political document.

Second, there are naturally the problems connected with nuclear disarmament. Now that a formula for strategic offensive weapons has been reached allowing for participation in the mechanism for implementing that agreement by four republics of the former Soviet Union, and simultaneously envisaging the strengthening of the nonnuclear status of three of these republics, that is Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belorussia, an opportunity is opening up for a rapprochement in the positions of Russia and the United States on the basis of the proposals put forward by Presidents Yeltsin and Bush with regard to further, deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons in the interests of parity in the security of both sides.

Finally, there are extensive—more than 10, perhaps even approximately 20—agreements on a wide range of other issues, first and foremost on economic cooperation—I emphasize cooperation—and on cultural ties, and so on and so forth. [end recording]

Official Criticizes U.S. Statement on ASEAN

LD0206133392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1259 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Russia's Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembovskiy described as an anachronism the statement, made by U.S. 7th Fleet Commander Charles Larsen to the effect that the U.S. would welcome turning the Association of South East Asian Nations into a military block.

At the same time Russia has always supported the ASEAN ambition to play an important role in the region, Yastrzhembovskiy said.

Bush Remarks on 'Russian Threat' Reported

PM0106115592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 May 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "G. Bush Considers Aid for Russia 'Critically Important' for America and the World"]

[Text] Washington—"The world has changed tremendously, but the role of the U.S. military has not changed tremendously"—this was how an ABC-TV Company reviewer commented on G. Bush's speech.

"The 'cold war' is over," the President said, "and the threat of nuclear war has never been so remote during the past four decades as it is now.... but we have not yet entered an era of eternal peace,.... it will take a great effort to improve our planet, and in attempts to achieve this, no one will be able to replace America's might and purposefulness."

It is impossible not to notice that, as can be seen from the President's speech, Washington is not removing from the agenda the topic of the "Russian threat," only it is a threat of a qualitatively different type. "The old threats are disappearing, and new ones appearing.... Ideology is being replaced by ethnic contradictions as a key factor in conflicts,.... as we see in the war-torn Balkans and among certain new countries of the old Soviet empire," the President said.

Threats of the traditional type persist—albeit to a different degree—and in order to repulse them, as G. Bush emphasized, "it is necessary to maintain an adequate defense potential." These "traditions," mentioned in the same breath by the President include on the same plane Russia's nuclear arsenal and also the fact that Iraq, "as we learned during operation Desert Storm, has made progress on the way to creating its own nuclear weapons."

The President used these and a number of other factors to account for the need to "maintain a strong strategic deterrent potential," to deploy a system of defense against missile attack, and to maintain forward-based forces—ground and naval forces—which "will ensure America's security in the next century just as they have ensured it in the present century."

Bush named the new and old threats as the reason why America must continue to have the ability to react quickly and must continue to "preserve its technological advantage, continue military developments, and focus its attention on the next generation of arms."

"As supreme commander in chief," G. Bush said, and this statement was probably the leitmotiv of his speech, "I promise: The U.S. armed forces will continue to be the best trained, best equipped, and most ready for combat of all throughout the world."

According to the ABC-TV commentator whom I have already cited, Bush has shown by his speech that, "whereas he is still ready to be flexible in domestic political matters, he is not very ready in foreign policy."

It seems to me that this is not quite so: Bush's verbal toughness is not necessarily backed up by inflexibility in matters. It was the White House that insisted on curtailing the Seawolf-class submarine building program in order to save approximately $3 billion and to prevent the curtailment of other military programs that are more important from the administration's viewpoint. Literally a few days before the speech, in Annapolis a compromise was reached between the administration and Congress, which was demanding that the building of Seawolves be continued, as this would save tens of thousands of people from unemployment. The essence of the compromise is that the program will be curtailed, but not completely.

With this deal, the administration has removed one of the obstacles in the way of something that is particularly important to us in Russia—in the way of the adoption by Congress of the freedom support bill, which provides for us to be given financial and economic aid. The bill has many opponents in the Capitol, but Bush has solemnly promised—and, I will remind you, he has asked for this to be conveyed to IZVESTIYA's readers—that the bill will be adopted in time for President Yeltsin's arrival in the United States.

Kozyrev Defends Foreign Policy on U.S.

LD2905024292

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1515 GMT on 28 May carries a review of Russian foreign policy entitled "Hot Summer of the Russian Foreign Ministry", consisting of remarks by Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev, Deputy Foreign Ministers Kunadze and Mamedov and A. Glukhov, head of the Europe department at the ministry.

The program includes the following recorded exchange initiated at an unspecified Supreme Soviet by Deputy M. Astafyev:

"U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who virtually plays the role of president of the USSR, visits our country, coordinating issues of conflict between the republics, explaining who may have missiles and who may not, who is acceptable at the United Nations and who isn't. Finally, in the final analysis, when he makes his pronouncement, all the presidents humbly obey."

Mamedov responds: "As for James Baker and his visits to the countries of the CIS, they reflect a perfectly natural and legitimate interest on the part of a great power such as the United States in the processes—complex and contradictory, but influencing the destiny of the entire world—which are taking place on the territory of the former Soviet Union. I'm sure that in the same situation we would do exactly the same."

Shelov-Kovedyayev adds: "Perhaps it may have seemed to some people that the U.S. secretary of state was behaving like the president of the USSR, that is, calling on everyone for peace and harmony, during his trip, perhaps simply because the previous president, and actually the only president of the USSR, was indeed very much attached to that model of behavior, in the first place, to extensive travels up and down the country which, it's true, unlike Mr. Baker, he did not undertake by arrangement, but by fiat, as it were."

Kozyrev then contributes: "We're not used to Baker going, say, to Alma-Ata or somewhere else—Bishkek. We've got to get used to the fact that they have become independent states. So it seems to me that we should take it calmly. It's another matter that we are in daily contact with the United States. I don't have the feeling that they're brewing something up there behind our backs. On the contrary, I sometimes get the impression that we're acting in unison and agreeing about it between ourselves, in the interest, as it were, of the entire community."

At this point Mamedov says: "I must say that all these theses about America and Washington showing a new impertinence in relation to Russia are a consequence of people being poorly informed. Perhaps even of a certain inferiority complex we have inherited from the past. On the contrary, I must say that Americans' respectfulness toward us, both at the working level, which, by the way, by no means excludes differences and disagreements, even the clashes of interest that we see, is growing in direct proportion to the civilized nature of our new foreign policy. I can say that we now confidentially discuss and decide issues which we formerly did not dare to think of as areas of cooperation."

Kozyrev then adds: "We do, after all, have a very great desire, especially the apparat and the nomenklatura, who are all the time trying to take revenge, including from within, a very great desire to seek out a new enemy. Now Baker is interferring, now the United States is interferring, or there's an enemy lurking somewhere else."

The program concludes at 1600 GMT.

Difficulties Cited on U.S. Aid Bill

PM0206090692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Bill on Aid to Russia Will Not Be Adopted Before Boris Yeltsin's Arrival in the United States"]

[Text] Washington—The draft law on support for freedom which makes provision for granting financial, economic, and technical aid to Russia will not be adopted by Congress prior to President Boris Yeltsin's arrival in the United States. The reason for this lies in the continuing confrontation between the House of Representatives, where the Democrats have a majority, and the Republican administration. I was told this by sources on Capitol Hill.

President George Bush, presenting the draft law at the very beginning of April, said everything would be decided by mid-June: The bill will become law. It is not very clear what this confidence on the part of the U.S. President was based on, but it is quite clear that since then, relations between the White House and Congress have deteriorated substantially. The Capitol is not at all willing to vote for hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign aid in a situation in which, in the view of Congressmen, the administration is not inclined to tackle seriously the problems of domestic aid.

The draft law on support for freedom was to have been the subject of a debate in the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee back on 19 May. It did not happen. The debate was postponed for a week. However, on 26 May nothing happened either.

The Foreign Affairs Committee is only one of the 10 committees and subcommittees of the two chambers where the bill has to be examined and approved before being put to the final vote in the Senate and the lower house. At the moment the bill has only gone through one committee, even then with a series of restrictive amendments. IZVESTIYA has already written in detail about Senator Biden's amendment linking aid to Russia to Moscow's abandonment of the deal to deliver rocket motors to India.

New amendments are expected during the debate in the full Senate itself. They are promised by Senator Jesse Helms, Republican from North Carolina, who intends to link aid to Russia to agreement by the White House to guarantee a 2-billion-dollar loan to Israel to help resettle immigrants from the former Union. Among other possible amendments mention is made of one that will oblige those countries of the former Union that become recipients of U.S. aid to mortgage their natural resources: oil, gold, gas, and so forth.

The main problem, it seems to me, is in the House of Representatives. Unlike the Senate, only one-third of whose members have to confirm their powers in the November elections and which can therefore allow itself a degree of flexibility, the House of Representatives is facing elections as a body, and it has to pay far closer heed to what the voters are saying and thinking.

The voters are now clearly in favor of tackling "domestic" problems first, and foreign ones only after that. According to the weekly CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, "a particularly unpopular measure—as a symbol of foreign aid—is the bill's proposed 12-billion-dollar increase in the U.S. quota in the IMF" (the IMF will use this increase, in particular, to create the fund for stabilization of the Russian ruble—A.Sh.).

This increase is such a hot potato that the lower house is trying to postpone the moment of voting as far as possible. For instance, Democrat Mary Rose Oakar has ensured that the House Banking Committee will not discuss the bill earlier than 2 June, when Mary Rose faces primary elections in her native Ohio. The congresswoman's calculation is simple: If the vote happens before the elections and she votes "in favor," she will most likely lose the primaries.

Therefore, the bill will not become law by the time of Yeltsin's arrival, but will it be adopted at all? Sources on the Capitol answered my question in the affirmative, saying that this will most likely happen in July.

Pentagon Draft Directives Amendments Viewed

PM2905132392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Aleksandr Shalnyev: "Pentagon Turns Over New Leaf"]

[Text] Washington—The Pentagon does not want to say any more about how "the democratic changes in Russia are not irreversible" and that "despite its present difficulties Russia will remain the strongest military power in Eurasia and the only power in the world capable of destroying the United States."

At any rate, it is these phrases which have been removed from the draft "directives for planning in the defense field for fiscal 1994-1999" which was signed last Friday by Defense Secretary Richard Cheney. But these phrases were in one of the preliminary drafts which, despite the secret stamp, percolated to the press this March and caused a real sensation.

Having come up against criticism—not so much in the United States itself as abroad—the Pentagon, obviously not without pressure from the State Department, was obliged to embark on a very serious reworking of the draft "directives," removing or substantially muffling the most controversial, most contradictory elements and saturating this document with what THE NEW YORK TIMES calls "more diplomatic language."

If we are speaking of Russia and the other countries of the former CIS [as published] then emphasis is now not on the negative but on the positive. It would be naive to suppose that neither the Pentagon nor the State Department nor the White House actually no longer regards Russia's nuclear potential a adequate to destroy America: Ultimately over the two months which separate one draft of the "Directives" from the other, the opportunities for mutually wiping each other from the face of the earth have not become particularly fewer either for us or for the Americans. But instead of arguing about the dangers which—theoretically—could still emanate from Russia, the Pentagon in its final draft stresses the importance of setting up international military cooperation, especially with Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus, and other republics of the former USSR "as a means of safeguarding security with the least expenditure and the least risk to all."

The directives, which have gone to the White House for approval, also say that the United States has a substantial interest in "promoting democratic consolidation and peaceful relations between Russia, Ukraine, and other republics."

There is no doubt that it is important that the draft signed by Richard Cheney no longer contains a direct mention of the targeting "of nuclear and conventional deterrent forces on those targets which present and future value most highly." Instead there is a reference to the fact that "the policy of targeting U.S. nuclear arms has already undergone modifications and will continue to change with a consideration for the positive changes taking place in the states of East and West Europe and in the former Soviet Union."

But despite the fact that some changes are indeed of a purely cosmetic nature the very fact is of importance that the Pentagon, whether willingly or not, has been obliged to substantially edit its "Directives." In the world of politics, and especially interstate politics, there is an unusually large amount which, as is well known, depends on how words are chosen, on the order in which they are set down. The previous draft gave rise to a mass of disputes and even conflicts precisely because it was too acute and direct. By its latest draft the Pentagon has shown that it can display nonmilitary restraint and diplomacy.

New Ambassador to U.S. Interviewed

PM0206154692 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 17, Apr 92 p 7

[Interview with Russian Ambassador to the United States Vladimir Lukin by Arkadiy Dubnov; date and place not given: ""It's Bad When a Country Has Three or Four Foreign Policies""]

[Text] [Dubnov] How do you regard your appointment as an ambassador - as a disgrace, an honourable exile or a step towards a higher post?

[Lukin] If I had certain political ambitions perhaps I would not go to the United States. However, I thought it was my duty to comply with the President's decree.

[Dubnov] Will the continuity in the parliament's committee for international affairs be preserved after you leave the post of its chairman?

[Lukin] We do not have many people versed in international affairs. Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, who succeeded me in the post of chairman, is a learned man and a noted sociologist. I hope therefore that the parliament and its committee for international affairs will suffer in the most minimal degree.

[Dubnov] How do you see the political situation in Russia from Washington?

[Lukin] I have the feeling that I have only changed my office but continue to deal with the same problems. I begin my working day with telephone calls and dispatches to and from Moscow. From nine o'clock in the morning till 11 o'clock in the evening I am concerned with Russian affairs. If I had a window in my office I would be surprised by not seeing, as usual, the Trekhgornaya Manufaktura textile mill, but seeing only the White House, not the Russian one, of course. But I do not have a window. It was completely sealed during the cold war.

[Dubnov] You remain a people's deputy of Russia. Do you have the feeling that, as before, you can influence the policy of the parliament and the congress?

[Lukin] I think I have such a feeling. My position at the center of relations with the leading economic and democratic power of the world enables me to give advice both to the President and the parliament. Before my departure the President assured me that, if necessary, I can enter into direct contact with him, as it was in the past.

[Dubnov] There was a stereotype: the West likes Gorbachev very much and does not trust Yeltsin. Has the situation changed in this respect?

[Lukin] It has certainly changed, though nostalgia for Gorbachev remains. At the same time, Yeltsin's rating has greatly increased. Gorbachev has done very much for the democratization of the country. However, courage for a decisive break with totalitarianism and the implementation of reforms which make this rupture irreversible are associated with the name of Yeltsin and his associates. Especially noticeable among them is Graydev, who enjoys great respect in the West thanks to his high professionalism.

[Dubnov] What do you think about Marshal Shaposhnikov's reproaches that the Russian foreign ministry too often says "yes" to its partners at negotiations?

[Lukin] The Union has crumbled away while departments have remained, and every large department sees its group interests as being national ones. This concerns not only the defence ministry, though it has always been inherent in it. The desire of the foreign ministry for a large number of "successes" (that is, the conclusion of many various agreements and treaties, irrespective of what is contained in them) cannot but arouse conflicts, of course. It is bad that the work of departments is not coordinated in this country. This must be done in order to devise foreign policy concepts independent of departmental interests.

[Dubnov] How would you assess the situation which arose after the visits of Vice-President Rutskoy to the Crimea and the Dniester Republic in Moldova?

[Lukin] I am very disturbed by the lack of coordination of our foreign policy with regard to the Commonwealth of Independent States. It is bad when a country has three or four foreign policies. The mechanism of coordination should be concentrated on the President, and the Vice-President should play an active part in it. This is what takes place in America. The realization of this policy must exactly correspond with the agreements reached in the course of its elaboration.

Former U.S. President Nixon Meets Khasbulatov

LD0106211592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1758 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Russian Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov met with former U.S. President Richard Nixon on Monday [1 June]. Nixon is in Moscow as head of a delegation of the Fund for Democracy and Development, which delivered humanitarian aid to Moscow.

Nixon said political stability is vital for further development of cooperation between U.S. and Russian businesses. Later in the day, Nixon met with Russian Minister of Labour Aleksandr Shokhin to discuss prospects for support to small businesses in Russia.

On Tuesday [2 June], Nixon will hand over the humanitarian aid to Russian officials on Moscow's Red Square. He will also meet with Russian parliamentarians.

Further on EC's Delors Visit to Moscow for Talks

More on Briefing

PM0406094192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 92 First Edition p 7

[Vladimir Kuznetsov report: "Two Pillars of the Continent"]

[Text] "I do not rule out Russia from the greater Europe, but existing realities must also be considered," EC Commission Chairman Jacques Delors declared at a press conference devoted to the results of his visit to Moscow.

Delors' current visit to Russia was perhaps prompted by the need for urgent consultations on the eve of the summit meeting of the "G-7" countries. The talks were principally aimed at elucidating the sides' positions on the questions of a new cooperation agreement between Russia and the Community. Of course, there was inevitably a discussion of the Yugoslav crisis, with our government having drastically changed its previous attitude toward it on the eve of this meeting.

The talks, in which the country's top leaders took part, assessed in particular, the question of the food aid worth 200 million ECU [European currency units] being sent to us from the countries of the community. Judging by the results achieved in Moscow and Petersburg, this action can be said to have met with great success, and it has now been decided to extend aid to Saratov, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Chelyabinsk. At the same time, the EC chairman stated, we will use the compensations fund to support the strata of society which are experiencing the greatest difficulties in the current period of price rises.

The provision of technical aid, with the EC countries accounting for 90 percent of it, was also discussed. It is proposed to spend 450 million ECU on these purposes in 1992; this sum will be mainly directed toward sectors such as transport, power engineering, food, and also toward the modernization of financial services, and professional training. In this connection, Delors stated, we were greatly encouraged by the Russian Government's statement on the creation in the near future of a federal agency for international cooperation. It will be tasked with accelerating the introduction of various projects on the basis of consultations with the EC Commission.

A new element during the talks was a statement by Gaydar, who insisted on Russia being finally allowed to join COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls], with all the concomitant rights and obligations. This would enable Russia to make the first step toward bridging the existing technological gap with the West. A proposal to establish a moratorium on our payment of interest on our debts for a period of five years was also voiced. All this, the EC Commission chairman stated, requires thorough and detailed study.

The issue of a new agreement on trade, which would replace the one signed two years ago between the USSR and the EC Commission, was discussed in depth. Its main direction should be the adaptation of the Russian economy to the new conditions of international cooperation. The general idea of this agreement is to deepen partnership between the EC Commission and Russia, making them the two pillars of our great continent, Delors stated.

By way of conclusion, the EC Commission chairman spoke of his meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev following the latter's visit to Yugoslavia. We learned with great satisfaction, Delors stated, that the president has instructed him to support the UN proposal to impose sanctions against Serbia, which could be an important step in the quest for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslavian drama.

Envoy to EC Comments

PM0406090892 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 92 p 3

[Interview with Ivan Silayev, Russian permanent representative to the European Communities, by correspondent R. Zaripov in Moscow; date not given: "Belgian Guest's Aria"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Ivan Silayev comes to Moscow only on flying visits. Having swapped the prime ministerial portfolio for the credentials of Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and permanent representative to the European Communities, Silayev has established himself firmly in Brussels. Notes of nostalgia constantly crop up in conversation, while a tricolor bearing the Russian eagle, worn on the lapel of his vest, emphasizes the ambassador's allegiance.

The visit to Moscow by EC Commission Chairman Jacques Delors gave rise to a brief appearance in the capital by Silayev, which we did not omit to exploit.

[Zaripov] Ivan Stepanovich, the arrival of Mr. Delors is associated with the agreement that is being prepared between Russia and the EC. What kind of document is this?

[Silayev] It is a question of a large-scale document on Russia's cooperation with the three communities: economic, coal and steel, and atomic energy. At the talks Delors reaffirmed Russia's special role. Relations with Russia will be not as with a partner from a third country, but as with a country advantageous to the Community. The document covers questions in such priority strategic avenues as energy, transport, the training of market cadres, and the lifting of a significant number of existing nontariff restrictions on mutual trade. Under the procedure that exists in the EC, Mr. Delors has to obtain a mandate from the 12 countries to hold official talks. However, that does not mean that work is not in progress. The stage of expert consultations has now ended. After this come active preparations for the Munich round (7+1) with the participation of Boris Yeltsin.

[Zaripov] What is Jacques Delors' attitude to Russia's joining the EC? There are those who are opposed to such a step.

[Silayev] There is indeed a group of states calling for the numbers in the EEC to be limited. However, the main bulk do not agree, because that is contrary to the principle of the European Communities—that they should be open to any country. Any country which, by virtue of its economic situation and political views, is prepared to integrate into the Community. Speaking about Russia's privileged position, Delors emphasizes its exceptional potential as a giant country. Of course, Russia has to be a member of the EC, but, as Delors observed, in view of its role, it must be on different terms from, say, Luxembourg or Poland.

[Zaripov] As I understand it, EC Commission representatives have a very cautious approach to the principle of the four freedoms—free movement of goods, capital, services, and manpower—with regard to Russia. However, the signing of an agreement of this kind is impossible without mutual accords on the movement of manpower, the regulation of migration processes....

[Silayev] I agree with you. This question is now under serious discussion. We are not ready, and moreover, we do not know the international rules. What will be the status of a Russian citizen on the territory of those 12 countries? Unless we take care to protect our citizens (wherever they may be), unless there are provisions stipulated in a treaty, our compatriots could suffer cruel exploitation abroad.

[Zaripov] A routine session of the export control coordinating committee—COCOM—begins in Paris on 8 May. This organization has made considerable efforts to bar access to our country for goods and technologies of so-called strategic significance, which are blacklisted for Russia. Did you discuss this question with Delors during his trip to Moscow?

[Silayev] The lifting of all kinds of nontariff restrictions was one of the main topics at the talks. There are certain conditions governing the shipment of goods across borders and tariff taxes which are exacted all over the world, and we agree to that. However, the COCOM restrictions, which hamper exchanges in the most diverse forms in high technology, modern machine-building products, and so forth—these are vestiges of the cold war. At the talks, Yegor Gaydar proposed a very interesting option, which Delors agreed with. Russia expressed the desire to be integrated into COCOM in order to gain access to all general civilian technologies. Restrictions should be imposed for regimes that are dangerous to society.

[Zaripov] What else did you note at the talks?

[Silayev] Gaydar proposed a moratorium on Russia's payment of the foreign debt of the former USSR. It is a question of Russia's 60-percent share, which in monetary terms comes to some $60 billion. A five-year moratorium was proposed. Naturally, Delors is not omnipotent and cannot make such decisions on his own, but he promised to support this request at a session of economy ministers.

The question of waiving state immunity was also raised.

[Zaripov] Which is what?

[Silayev] There is a rule in the EEC: A state which receives credit from the Community takes on certain commitments. There is a clause in the regulations whereby, if for some reason a state is unable to pay off the specified sums within the set term, the principle of waiving state immunity comes into force. What does this mean? You have property abroad—movable and immovable property, buildings, facilities, ships, planes. Its value is immediately assessed, and the proportion which you failed to pay on time is "extinguished" by this property, which is confiscated.

Russia is above suspicion. I think our position of not consenting to this point is correct. In any case, Mr. Delors understands it, and there is a corresponding decision by the Council to find a flexible formula for Russia. There are also those who oppose the application of such a measure to Russia: "Why should we waive our immunity internally, yet make an exception for Russia?" Although it must be said that other CIS countries are quite willing to accept such terms and waive their immunity, if only they are given credit.

[Zaripov] A few personal questions, if I may. How well do you live over there?

[Silayev] Converted from Belgian francs, I get $1,490. I have a house. I pay for my own food. I must say, everything is costly there. While consumer goods are very cheap, agricultural products are very expensive. A kilogram of good meat, in a Belgian store, costs the equivalent of about 400 rubles, or even 500.

[Zaripov] You have a two-story detached house?

[Silayev] Yes. My residence is on the first floor. Practically every week there are meetings with ambassadors from other countries and EC Commission staffers. On the second floor there are two bedrooms and a small hall.

[Zaripov] You live with your family?

[Silayev] I live with my wife. Our children are grown up, they are here, in Russia.

Yeltsin, Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev on Accords

OW2605223292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2059 GMT 26 May 92

[Prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from "Presidential Bulletin"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] This Monday [25 May] night, following the ceremony of signing the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between Russia and Kazakhstan, the presidents of the two countries exchanged brief speeches.

Russia and Kazakhstan, Boris Yeltsin asserted, have been consistently pursuing the interests of both countries by deeds rather than by words. They never sought to divert the attention of their countrymen from the challenge they have come to grips with at home by way of playing up the magnitude of the external problems. The Russian President expressed confidence that "our countries firmly adhere to the principle that neither barriers at the state borders nor the political relations based on threat of the use of force would ever benefit any of them, for there is no way for us to improve our relations other than through the development of mutually advantageous cooperation". In his opinion, our making new friends in the world community does not prevent our two countries from developing bilateral relations.

The Russian President accentuated the significance of the new Agreement asserting that by its import it stands head and shoulders above most of its predecessors concluded between the sovereign states of the former Soviet Union. Boris Yeltsin praised as traditionally good, the relations between Russia and Kazakhstan, and noted that they could serve as a good example for the other countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States to follow, inviting them to closely cooperate in resolving their problems. In the process of our work on the Agreement, Boris Yeltsin continued, we came to the conclusion that we need to optimally synchronize both our reforms and the process of our countries joining the community of civilized nations. Russia's President noted with satisfaction that in compliance with the bilateral Agreement, the state border between Kazakhstan and Russia would "remain transparent".

In his return remarks, President Nursultan Nazarbayev observed that both Russia and Kazakhstan are fully aware of the strategic and geopolitical importance of their territories and the imperativeness for the two countries to use them jointly for their common defense. In his words, he and Boris Yeltsin are of accord that there should never be any ill feelings in the relations between the two nations with respect to one another. "Therefore, I am convinced that the independence and sovereignty of each party should be invulnerable," Nursultan Nazarbayev said. This is why our two countries provide a good example for the other CIS countries in terms of resolving all of their problems only through negotiations in the interests of all the nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Answering the questions of Interfax's Boris Grishchenko and Vyacheslav Terekhov, Boris Yeltsin admitted that the Agreement had been subject to various corrections and amendments up to the moment of signing. We sought to produce a reliable and interesting document which both two countries need in equal measure.

Boris Yeltsin is hopeful that this Agreement will certainly promote Russia's and the other countries' relations with their CIS counterparts. In his words, Askar Akayev, the President of Kyrgyzstan with whom he met on the same day, has also indicated his interest in concluding a similar all-embracing agreement between Russia and his country. "It seems that many other CIS signatories will opt to conclude with us the same extensive and a long-term agreements", he said.

Asked who in his opinion would be the most difficult party for such an agreement, Boris Yeltsin replied: "You know whom I have in mind".

Mr Nazarbayev maintains that the Agreement which has just been signed fully complies with the international standards. "Boris Yeltsin and myself have long been advocating the establishment of similar civilized relations between our two countries. I never failed to emphasize that the Commonwealth should consist only of those who wish to be part of it. Why should we ever attract anyone into the Commonwealth by force?" the President inquired. "Everyone is free to act as he wishes, or the Commonwealth will suffer a dissonance which will ineluctably reflect on the other states," he noted.

In the opinion of the President of Kazakhstan, the signing of this bilateral document at this highly complicated period has been necessitated by the imperative need to provide "normal conditions for our nations". Mr Nazarbayev views as most critical the need for "this process to continue in a civilized manner, without confrontations, without mutual threats (Boris Yeltsin adding "without bloodshed"—IF [INTERFAX]), and without fist waving. We should leave behind for the next generation only good and friendly relations rather than conflicts and strifes", he contended. Mr Nazarbayev also pointed out that the Agreement envisages all the spheres of cooperation—beginning from defense up to culture, exchange of information, training of specialists, joint utilization of the enormous potentials of contemporary science and technology.

Touching on the issue of cooperation in the area of defense the two presidents voiced an aspiration that "eventually the situation in the world will improve to such an extent that it would be possible to scrap all the nuclear capabilities worldwide. Should the situation in the world take a different turn, we would join our efforts, proceeding from the realities of the conformable historical period". Each state, Nursultan Nazarbayev insisted, has its own concept of nuclear security. This is why we signed a collective security treaty in Tashkent which provides one common "nuclear umbrella" for all of its participants. In our conviction, Kazakhstan should never become as a country setting a precedent for extending the list of membership of the nuclear club.

Vyacheslav Kostikov, Russia's President's press-secretary, made the following commentary to the Russian-Kazakh Agreement: "This Agreement stands out as a political proving ground for testing the philosophy and working out the tactics of relations among the independent states which have emerged at the scene of political havoc which the communist regime bequeathed to us".

Ministry Notes India's Ballistic Missile Test

LD0306064492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0640 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 3 (TASS)—The Russian authorities did not leave without notice the recent test of a new Indian medium-range ballistic missile, a spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry told TASS on Wednesday [3 June].

Russian attitude towards arms race is well-known and does not need to be further clarified, he said. Moscow took notice of the Indian statement that the test of the "Agni" missile was a technical one and the country does not intend to arm its troops with it, the spokesman said, adding he hopes the statement reflects the policy of the Indian government on the issue.

Further on Turkish President's Visit to Moscow

Comments on First Day

PM0106142592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 May 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "Russia and Turkey Henceforth Friendly States," President B. Yeltsin Declared at a Meeting with Prime Minister S. Demirel"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told by the president's press service, the first day of Russian-Turkish talks in the Kremlin between B. Yeltsin and S. Demirel went well. The sides signed a treaty on the bases for relations between the two countries and discussed the situation which has emerged in recent weeks in certain hot spots on the territories of Commonwealth countries.

B. Yeltsin stressed that this invaluable dialogue between Russia and Turkey could have a positive influence over many processes in the contemporary world. Today, the possibilities for closer cooperation within the CSCE framework have expanded, and both countries could play the role of bridges between East and West in guaranteeing strategic stability in the area from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

Suleyman Demirel also believes that relations between the two countries have at last entered a new era, and that they have "good prospects." In his words, cooperation between Turkey and Russia is vital not just from the point of view of Europe alone, but also from that of the Near and Middle East and Asia.

In response to correspondents' questions, the prime minister declared that Turkey is making tremendous efforts these days to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and also in Nagorno-Karabakh. "Armenia's aggressive actions against Azerbaijan are acquiring alarming scales which pose a serious threat to peace in the region," S. Demirel believes.

As it was reported earlier, the Azerbaijan leadership has threatened to appeal to the Turkish authorities with a request to join the conflict on Azerbaijan's side. In this connection, S. Demirel declared: Turkey will only send its troops to Azerbaijan within the body of international peacekeeping forces. He urged the world community to act with full awareness of the responsibility it bears, and to take the necessary measures to ensure that at this stage in the creation of a new world order the principles of democracy are not eroded, that the law and human rights are observed, and that neither force nor the threat of force is used.

A Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that bilateral talks will continue on a broader basis on 28 May in the Kremlin. There are plans for the Turkish prime minister to meet with Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov and Moscow's Vice-Mayor Yu. Luzhkov, and he will visit the "Reform" Foundation headed by S. Shatalin. A meeting between S. Demirel, the Turkish businessmen accompanying him, and Russian entrepreneurs is also envisaged.

Talks Summed Up

PM0106150792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 May 92 First Edition p 7

[Sergey Demidov report under the "Russia and the World" rubric: "'Green Light' to Cooperation, But Not to Intervention in the Transcaucasus. Start of Turkish Premier's Visit to Moscow"]

[Text] Henceforth, the history of relations between Russia and Turkey, spanning 500 years, is entering a new era of cooperation, with three wide-open doors leading to it, according to Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel—democracy, the observance of human rights, and an economy based on market relations. This cheerful note rang out for a long time at the press conference given by the Turkish Republic premier for Russian and foreign journalists on the results of his official visit to Moscow. Figuratively speaking, it became the final chord of the two-day visit to our capital and country by the distinguished guest from Ankara.

The schedule of meetings for Mr. Suleyman Demirel over the period of almost 28 hours, which he spent on Russian land was drawn up literally minute by minute. There were talks and conversations with Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Government First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, Moscow's Vice Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, as well as at the "Reform" Interethnic Foundation headed by Academician Stanislav Shatalin. During these meetings, various questions were discussed—from the prospects for developing Russian-Turkish relations in the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres to a project for cooperation between states in the Black Sea Region. A Treaty on the Bases for Relations between the Russian Federation and the Turkish Republic was signed. It is expected to become the framework for constructing a new edifice of cooperation between the two countries in many areas, which is being implemented successfully between them on the basis of some two dozen agreements which were concluded with Ankara by the former Union and have not been rescinded by anybody.

To all appearances, the sensitive area on the Turkish prime minister's agenda for the Moscow talks, as expected, concerned questions regarding the intricacies of Nagorno-Karabakh and Nakhichevan. The sides expressed their attitude toward the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic in a joint declaration. The statement indicates that both Russia and Turkey are opposed to outside intervention in the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict around these territories and that they are in support of resolving it on the basis of the UN and CSCE principles. The conclusion is simple: This bloodshed must not under any circumstances lead to a "third world war."

Even yesterday, political observers were worried: How will Ankara react if Baku, citing the recent words by Azerbaijan Parliament Deputy Speaker Tamerlan Karayev, "appeals to Turkey with a request for swift military intervention to repulse aggression," and furthermore, how will the Turkish Government act in the event of receiving a similar request from Nakhichevan? After all, in recent days the leaders of the Nakhichevan Republic have been referring to "their right" to such a request, pinning their hopes in doing so upon Ankara's obligations under the 1921 Treaty of Kars between Turkey, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia (with the participation of the RSFSR).

Following S. Demirel's visit to Moscow, it is to be hoped that such questions will just fade away.

Khasbulatov Visits Turkey for Talks, Meetings

Arrives in Turkey

LD0206110792 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1006 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara, 2 Jun—Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, arrived in Turkey today at the head of a parliamentary delegation. He was welcomed at Ankara airport by Grand National Assembly Speaker Husamettin Cindoruk, and by other officials.

On 2 June, R. Khasbulatov will pay a visit to his Turkish counterpart, and talks will then take place between the parliamentary delegations of the two countries. Also on 2 June, he will have a meeting with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin. The sides are expected to discuss the situation in the region and the world, ways of removing the logjam in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, the situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and also the opportunities for developing bilateral relations in politics, economics, and culture.

Meets With Officials

LD0206212892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2100 GMT 2 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yalchin Alizade]

[Text] Ankara June 3 TASS—Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has begun his official Turkish visit by meeting Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

An official presidential palace spokesman said upon the meeting completion, President Ozal noted the great significance Turkey attaches to its relations with Russia. He stressed, in particular, an agreement on cooperation in the Black Sea zone will contribute to the accelerated development of trade and economic relations between the two states.

In his turn, Khasbulatov told the president about the Russian striving for rapprochement and continuation of political dialogue with Turkey, which would be useful for not only the two neighbouring countries, but for Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics as well.

After the reception at the presidential palace, the Russian Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Khasbulatov met head of the Turkish National Assembly Husamettin Cindoruk. The Russian Parliament head said the development of relations between Russian and Turkish parliamentarians will contribute to the peoples' rapprochement.

On the same day, Khasbulatov met Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. It was stressed at the meeting that Russia and Turkey carry great moral responsibility for peace and stability in the region.

The Russian Supreme Soviet chairman has also had a conversation with Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin.

Continues Visit

LD0306170292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1558 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara June 3 TASS—"History has entrusted to Turkey and Russia the responsibility for ensuring security in the region and conservation of peace in the Black Sea area. The period of resolving international conflicts by force is over. Parliaments play a great role in establishing real peace," the chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Husamettin Cindoruk, said welcoming the chairman of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Khasbulatov, who arrived here on an official visit on Tuesday [2 June].

The Turkish mass information media widely illuminated the Russian parliamentary delegation's visit. The "HURRIYET" newspaper wrote, Ruslan Khasbulatov became the first state dignitary officially received by president of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, after his recent surgery. The speaker of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet wished the Turkish president a long life for the improvement of Turkey and Russian-Turkish relations and handed him an invitation from President Boris Yeltsin to visit Russia.

Ruslan Khasbulatov will meet today the state minister for economic affairs, Tansu Ciller and other officials of the Turkish republic. The attention of both sides will be focussed on the further development of Turkish-Russian friendly ties and urgent international problems.

Finnish Fears on Redeployed Troops Discounted

PM0106124192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 May 92 p 3

[Major M. Zheglov article: "All Quiet on the Border, Contrary To Statements By Some Finnish Politicians"]

[Text] Judging by everything, the problem of the withdrawal from Central and Eastern Europe of the troops under Russian jurisdiction will be actively discussed in the near future by the Russian and Finnish diplomatic and military departments. At any rate, the need to hold such consultations is being insisted on by Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho and Defense Minister Elisabeth Rehn.

These statements have appeared in connection with the fact that some of the troops being withdrawn are being transferred to the Leningrad Military District—that is, Helsinki believes, in direct proximity to Finland's borders. Although, as E. Rehn put it, Finland realizes that Russia has been forced into this, it cannot ignore this "worrying" fact.

I turned to the Russian Defense Ministry Press Center for an explanation. According to one of its staffers, unilateral troop cutbacks have been under way in the Leningrad Military District since 1986, and combined and other units have been simultaneously transferred to a new organizational and personnel structure. Moreover, there have also been cutbacks in combined and other units under central jurisdiction, the Air Defense Forces, and the Baltic and Northern Fleets, which are located on the district's territory. As a result, manpower has been substantially cut, the number of tanks has been more than halved, and all tactical missile units in the Leningrad Ministry District have been stood down from combat alert.

It was also stressed that it is not planned to site any new combat units or combined units along the Russo-Finnish border. The combined and other units being withdrawn from East Europe and the Baltic states are being disbanded—with the exception of certain logistical and servicing units.

The press center spokesman also particularly stressed that, despite certain difficulties relating to the reception of troops form Germany, Poland, and the Baltic states, Russia does not intend to ignore, or in any way, avoid fulfilling the requirements of the CFE Treaty. This document, as is well known, sets strictly fixed levels for armaments, which are 15-20 percent lower than those currently in existence. As a result of the military reform, the Ground Forces grouping in the Russo-Finnish border area will be reduced and will not exceed the size of the analogous Finnish Defense Forces' grouping.

So, judging by everything, there has been some considerable exaggeration during the discussion in Finland about the "new" threat from the East. For instance, this was indicated by the chief of the strategic research directorate at the Finnish institute of military sciences. In his opinion, any increase in the number of Russian troops in the area does not pose a threat to his country from the strategic standpoint. As a military man, he knows what he's talking about, as they say.

Gaydar Meets With Finnish Prime Minister Aho

LD2905140492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 29 May 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Zlobin]

[Text] Vaertsilae (Republic of Karelia), 29 May—Yegor Gaydar, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, made a brief unofficial visit to Karelia today. In the border settlement of Vaertsilae, where the guest's helicopter landed, Gaydar met Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho. Viktor Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, Sergey Blinnikov, head of the local administration, Yuriy Deryabin, Russian ambassador to the Republic of Finland, and Heikki Talvitie, ambassador to Russia of the Republic of Finland were also present.

The talks centered on bilateral issues, in particular, economic cooperation in border areas, trade, and tourism. The problem of Finnish enterprises taking part in conversion projects on the territory of the Russian Federation were also discussed.

Yegor Gaydar left Karelia on 29 May.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Chairs Security Council Session 3 Jun

LD0306182292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1521 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—The idea of creating a fund for the protection of the Russian population in the former USSR republics beyond the Russian Federation's borders was presented by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a Security Council meeting today.

The situations in North Ossetia and the Dniester region were discussed at the meeting.

Members of the Security Council emphasized that Russia has deep historical roots and strategic interests in the northern Caucasus. The president emphasized the importance of introducing a temporary moratorium on any border changes in the region.

Commenting on the situation in the Dniester region, members of the Security Council expressed their concern over the fact that weapons and supplies are reaching Moldova from Romania. The question was raised at the Security Council of the need to protect the interests of the Russians in that region.

Yeltsin, 'Reform' Group View Personnel Changes

LD0306185992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1559 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun—The creation of a fusion of practical experience and reformism—this is how Russian President Boris Yeltsin formulated the essence of the latest personnel changes in the government. During a meeting today in the Kremlin with the recently formed parliamentary group "Reform," he explained that bringing Vladimir Shumeyko, Georgiy Khizha, and Viktor Chernomyrdin into the government was necessary to strengthen the "Gaydar team" with specialists and practical workers who, according to Boris Yeltsin, have knowledge and experience in work in industry and are supporters of the reforms.

As journalists were told by Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary, Boris Yeltsin does not doubt that these appointments will strengthen the group of reformers in the government. Agreeing with the positions of the deputies who spoke against interference by ministries in the administration of enterprises, Boris Yeltsin stressed that the role of ministries must be purely functional—working out a price-formation policy, studying the market, forming links within the CIS, and concerning itself with scientific and technical progress. Representing the "Reform" group, one of its members, Vladimir Lysenko, informed the president that it is a parliamentary faction created for broad support of the reforms and the president. The members of the "Reform" group consider it necessary to create associations throughout the country on its basis. Characterizing the present situation, the president noted that certain tendencies toward political stabilization have been noticeable after the signing of the Federal Treaty. The conviction is strengthening in the republics, he said, that on the basis of bilateral talks with Russia, it is possible to achieve a powerful single economic-political area. The land issue remains pointed. The absence of guarantees of plots of land for industrial sites is scaring off foreign investors. Boris Yeltsin assured that he would do everything to resolve this issue in the very near future. During the meeting attention also was paid to the absence of a law on bankruptcy, which is leading to a further waste of state money on supporting ineffective enterprises. It is not ruled out, the press secretary said, that Boris Yeltsin will sign a provisional instruction on this issue.

Staff 'Brimming With Reformists'

OW0306162992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1612 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting in the Kremlin Wednesday [3 June] with members of the parliamentary fraction "Reform", President Boris Yeltsin explained the recent staff changes in the Russian government.

"The new government will be brimming with reformists and experienced industrialists and economists", the President said.

"Constant criticism of the Gaydar team for lacking experience in manufacturing became stereotypical. Criticism was coming from the right and left as well. Thus we have formed a powerful block in the government which includes Shumeyko, Khizha, and Chernomyrdin (deputy prime ministers).

They constitute reform and industrial experience".

They can in no way be grouped as "hardened conservatives", the President said. They are reformists.

Yeltsin, Gorbachev Spokemen Assess Dispute

LD0306210192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] [Announcer Andrey Veduta] Many of you apparently already are familiar with the text of the statement by the press secretary of the Russian Federation president. It assesses the recent remarks made by former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at home and abroad as an attempt to increase political tension. Our commentator, Vyacheslav Osipov, telephoned presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov to seek an explanation. Here is what he said:

[Begin recording] [Kostikov] Gorbachev's reaction prompts satisfaction, in principle. I believe that he has understood and correctly evaluated the words directed at him. There is no doubt that he is a major politician whose contribution to history nobody can dispute—nor does anybody intend to. But, for a person, and especially a politician whose words carry considerable weight, it is important to know how to gauge not only the historical aspects of his own personality, but also his responsibility to the people in the present crisis.

[Osipov] Can you tell me what you make of his remark that this statement was drawn up without the president's direct participation?

[Kostikov] I believe that he is being a little crafty here. As a former president, familiar with the process of drawing up such documents in the corridors of the Kremlin, he naturally understands and knows how such documents come into being. It was high time that such a statement was made. Regarding the views of the former CPSU general secretary, the leaders talked about them among themselves at the meeting in Tashkent, for as early as then there were certain reproaches against Gorbachev. But, as a whole, of course, this was an assessment of his statements in terms of the totality of his latest political maneuvers. The only important thing is that his political muscles should be flexed for stabilization, in support of the reforming trends in society. That is our only anxiety. [end recording]

[Veduta] Unfortunately, we were unable to talk to Mikhail Gorbachev, but Aleksandr Likhotal, adviser to the Gorbachev Foundation and head of the foundation's press service, agreed to comment on the situation that has developed.

[Begin recording] [Likhotal] Gorbachev expressed a number of serious observations and views regarding what is happening in this country today. The sense of them is that we must not allow the reform front to be split and to disperse in different directions. Therefore, of course, we are surprised by such a sharp and, I would say, inappropriate reaction from the president's press secretary. Gorbachev commented on this a little later, and he said it is bad when the government, and especially the president, begins to fret. In the face of the serious problems confronting us today, we cannot allow such weakness and limpness. In principle, we must keep our cool and analyze what is happening, especially as in this situation the proposals and criticism are coming from a man who probably is no less interested than the government in ensuring that everything that has been begun does take place and that both Yeltsin himself and the government led by him are successful. With regard to his remark that he does not believe that the statement came from Yeltsin, or that he doubts it, this really is the case, because....

[Osipov, interrupting] On what is it based?

[Likhotal] It is based on the fact that if such a statement did come from the president, it would in a certain sense cast a new light on him and his political views. As Gorbachev said, with whom are we dealing then? Who is in the post of president? What is this—Nina Andreyeva the second, but with a different label and coming from the opposite direction? To be honest, I feel that somebody in the president's entourage is slipping him decisions that are not absolutely proper, and these people obviously are letting their emotions run away with them.

[Osipov] What opinions in the statement by the Russian president's press secretary reflect Mikhail Sergeyevich's remarks incorrectly?

[Likhotal] Let us begin with the tone of the statement. I feel that the statement takes us back a little to the era that we all now are trying hard to leave and, thank goodness, are leaving, because....[Likhotal changes thought] I am aware that we have a long tradition in our country of treating Nobel prizeholders like this, but, all the same, we probably must put an end to this somehow, because, well, a man has disagreed with specific things and has put forward his point of view, but why is it necessary to shut him up, so to speak? In my opinion, we still have everything: glasnost and freedom of speech—it may be in a slightly reduced form, but it exists all the same.

[Osipov] Do you think that this is another spiral in the deterioration of relations, personal relations, between Yeltsin and Gorbachev?

[Likhotal] It would be very offensive if that were the case, because today they are tied together like mountain climbers—and have been for a long time, generally speaking. In other words, one of them did not manage to reach the summit on his own, and nor will the other. They need each other. [end recording]

[Veduta] It is good to be tied together, for that is a reliable method. If only we could clarify exactly for which summit each of the participants is aiming.

Security Ministry Suffers Amid Dismissals

LD0306194592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Vesti" program]

[Text] Yesterday, there was very strange news about the immediate dismissal of a whole group of KGB generals. Scanty additional reports led us to believe that the generals were dismissed because of their misuse of apartments designated for the use of agents and their attempts to appropriate refrigerators belonging to the department. There is a deeply held conviction that KGB generals do not steal, particularly refrigerators, or that they at least are not dismissed because of this. So, either a much more large-scale abuse lies behind the refrigerator story and it is just a cover, or a struggle for power is going on in the Ministry for Security between, for example, the KGB old guard and the Ministry of Internal Affairs old guard.

We have tried very hard to at least find out something new about the generals' dismissal, but the Ministry of Security leadership has claimed to be extremely busy today. Whatever the case, the ministry leadership is unlikely to get away with the refrigerator story.

Counterintelligence Head Removed

LD0306182592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] A meeting of the Russian Committee for Defense and Security Affairs was held in Moscow today. Vladimir Klishin, head of the Main Counterintelligence Directorate of the Russian Security Ministry, was relieved of his position. The Russian Information Commercial Agency reports that his removal follows work by a special commission investigating abuse of official positions among high-ranking employees of the ministry.

As we reported earlier, several more senior officials of the Russian Security Ministry have been relieved of their posts. Some of them were found guilty of corruption, while others were charged with abuses of a mercenary nature. The issue of firing these employees and denying them their pensions, as provided for in cases of retirement or transfer to the reserves, is being reviewed.

Grachev on Army's Domestic, Regional Commitment

PM0206134192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jun 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General P.S. Grachev, Russian defense minister, by Nikolay Burbyga and Albert Plutnik at IZVESTIYA's editorial offices in Moscow; date not given: "Pavel Grachev: 'In Essence, the Russian Army Has To Be Created from Scratch'"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Meetings like this have become an IZVESTIYA tradition. Essentially they are just like news conferences, but are held in what could be described as an informal atmosphere—over a cup of tea at the chief editor's office, "intimate" as it were. But the ensuing conversation—bearing in mind that the guests are eminent politicians, major writers, famous personalities from our cultural sphere, and Russian emigres—is certainly not intended for intimate circulation. Our readers can see this for themselves yet again on reading the conversation we had with Army General P.S. Grachev, recently appointed Russian defense minister.

A brief biographical note about our guest. Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev is 44 years old, born in the Tula countryside, a paratrooper by training. He fought in Afghanistan. He is a master of sports and skiing. He commanded the Airborne Assault Troops, and is a Hero of the Soviet Union and graduate of two military academies.

[IZVESTIYA] Pavel Sergeyevich, your appointment as Russia's defense minister was preceded by a lively discussion about who should head the new ministry—a military man or a civilian? Many people referred to the experience of developed countries in the West and concluded that there are serious arguments in favor of a civilian running the military establishment.

[Grachev] Let us ponder this soberly: Is this the right time in Russia's life to put a civilian at the helm of the Ministry of Defense? Let me say this bluntly: The military would not appreciate it. Not just the generals and senior chiefs, but also the ordinary officers, the lieutenants and captains. This is first. Second, now that the Army is beset by such a mass of problems, they can be sorted out, with God's help, by someone who has lived in and with it all his life. In essence, the Russian Army has to be created from scratch....

[IZVESTIYA] The Russian Army as well? We would not have been surprised if this had been said by the defense minister of Uzbekistan or Byelarus. They have never had their own armies. But Russia...After all, it is the legal heir of the USSR, it bore the brunt of expenditure to maintain the USSR Armed Forces, and the bulk of servicemen are ethnic Russians [russkiye], Russian [rossiyskiye] guys.

[Grachev] All this is true. And yet...Let me try to briefly explain to you what the USSR Army was and what has been left of it. As you know, there used to be the Warsaw

Pact, and it provided the basis for creating the first and foremost strategic line, a springboard for further offensive operations. This line ran along the borders of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and the FRG. Corridors were set up there, with powerful groupings of troops in place, meant to break through defenses. It was estimated that, in order to overcome the main line of defense, it was necessary to have at least sixfold superiority over the opponent. The breach of subsequent defense lines required only a threefold superiority. It is obvious that, in preparation for the performance of such tasks, there should have been a concentration of the appropriate troops, not just "larger in numbers" but also excellently drilled and perfectly trained. Elite troops, to put it briefly. Indeed, such elite troops were actually concentrated along the main strategic line. Later on, when all this started quietly falling apart, following the changes in the political situation and the Warsaw Pact's collapse, when the GDR was reunited with the FRG, the main defense line shifted closer to our own state border.

It was already running along the line separating the East European countries from Byelarus and Ukraine. Having relocated part of our best forces, we had to bring them up to full strength [ukomplektovat] primarily in what had become border districts—the Belorussian, Carpathian, Odessa, and Kiev Military Districts. You are perfectly well aware of what happened next...Following Ukraine's instantaneous privatization of three of the aforementioned districts, we found ourselves in an extremely difficult situation. Let me cite just one detail: We have been left with less than one-half of the military transport aviation, which was used to move men and equipment. Two of its five divisions have remained on Ukrainian territory, one regiment has remained in Byelarus, and one in Uzbekistan. To all intents and purposes, Russia actually has only two military transport regiments.

But even this is not all. We are now facing a truly unprecedented situation: The Moscow Military District has essentially become a frontline location. This is altogether mind-boggling. Therefore, my initial idea was to propose to our leadership the swift creation of a new—Smolensk—military district which, together with the Leningrad and North Caucasus Military Districts, would comprise the first strategic echelon... No sooner had I mooted this idea, however, and I was dubbed aggressor and militarist. I tried to prove my point, but so far without any result. I think that everything will work out in the near future.

[IZVESTIYA] But it is quite possible to understand those who raise objections. Given our present economic situation, we simply cannot afford to create new military districts. We are already experiencing mass impoverishment, one of whose main causes is the years-long excessive expenditure on the Army and on defense.

[Grachev] Of course, we will have to gauge each step and each proposal against the real economic situation. But if we wish to be a powerful state, if we wish to be respected and reckoned with, we must realize that it is not only the generals and other servicemen who need the Army, that the Army is not just mine but belongs to us all. There are already examples of other states sensing that we appear to be yielding our military positions and completely changing their attitude toward us. The country's military prestige is not just a political concept, it is also economic and moral. A strong army boosts the people's self-respect.

[IZVESTIYA] But nonetheless, their self-respect also depends on their way of life...As far as we know, Russia does not intend to attack anyone, and nobody intends to attack it. And so, we think that, no matter what is said about the weakening of our military might as a result of the new political thinking, we still remain—even without any new military districts—a great military power. There is no point flaunting one's strength, but there is probably also no point playing it down, showing false modesty.

[Grachev] What can I say to this? Of course combat readiness still exists. But it is also a fact that Russia's Armed Forces are experiencing a great manpower shortage. Last fall's draft proved very problematic, and we expect the draft this spring and summer to be even more problematic. The former Union republics refused to send draftees to us. After all, previously Central Asia alone supplied about 40 percent of the total number. The government now receives more applications than ever before from heads of administrations, entrepreneurs, sheep breeders, reindeer breeders—you name them and they have filed an application—requesting either deferment or total exemption from the draft. Exemption for private farmers, exemption for subway builders...We have estimated that, unless some sort of fundamental document on conscription into the Army is adopted, only 26 percent of the required number of draftees will report for army service. This means that the Army's numerical strength will drop by a further 10-15 percent.

[IZVESTIYA] It has been repeatedly stated that the Russian Army's numerical strength will be considerably less than the former Union Army's. Is Russia really not in a position to cover the Army's far more moderate needs for draftees "from its own resources"?

[Grachev] You better believe this—it is not. On the one hand, the number of young people of draft age fails to meet these needs. On the other hand, everyone now wishes to serve only on "home" ground, at the place where the draftee is called up. I myself am in favor of this being so as a rule. Even in favor of my fellow countrymen from Tula serving "in tight groups" instead of being scattered around. It was wrong when Uzbeks, accustomed to the southern sunshine, were being posted to the Northern Fleet. They found everything there new and strange, the climate and the ships alike. The overall lack of thought behind the draft generated a multitude of problems: People got sick, failed to cope with their duties, others had to work twice as hard during their absence, and this led to frequent conflicts and was one of the causes of bullying. Indeed, let the young men serve not too far away from home so that, if need be, they could pay visits and their parents would not find it too difficult to visit them. I think that, when service is based on national or ethnic groups, this will reduce the currently high number of sundry outrages along interethnic lines—there are instances of officers and soldiers being killed because they are not of "our" nationality.

Such negative aspects of army life encouraged the impression in many people's minds that the Army service was nothing but a variety of imprisonment. Our task is to change this impression.

True enough, the territorial draft principle can be accepted only as a "base" and not as the sole possible alternative. This is because, according to our latest estimates, we will simply not have enough people to serve along the borders, in the North, and in the Far East. The territorial draft principle will have to be combined with conscription into localities and even categories of troops attached to the territory. For example, new conscripts from Russia's central oblasts should join not only units stationed "near to home" but also the Baltic Fleet; conscripts from Yekaterinburg should join their own district and the Pacific Fleet.

[IZVESTIYA] Are there any plans to draft women as well?

[Grachev] There are. This is already being done in practice. Women are studying at some faculties of the Military Medical Academy. They will acquire officer's rank on graduation. We will draft—if they so wish—women as communications technicians, operators, and paratroopers. Not as volunteers but for active military service.

[IZVESTIYA] Everything you have said offers an interesting insight into contemporary army life. But let us turn to the main point, the radical military reform... Is it under way? Will Russia soon have a truly professional army?

[Grachev] Believe me, I am as eager as you to create such an army as soon as possible. But a firm and stable economy is the minimum requirement for this. This is an elementary fact: If a soldier is to agree to make a profession out of military service, he should be paid at least as much as the average skilled worker. Something like 4,000-5,000 rubles [R]. At present, a private in the Transcaucasus, in the hot spots, is paid only R1,200...

[IZVESTIYA] An incidental question, if we may. Is there any life insurance for servicemen serving in armed conflict zones?

[Grachev] No.

[IZVESTIYA] What sum is paid to the families of dead soldiers and officers?

[Grachev] Officers' families receive R10,000, soldiers' families receive R5,000—a pittance. This is not because we are inhuman... We are paying pennies on death, and there is no payment at all for the professional risk that people run.

Given today's extremely modest financial resources, the Army would be able to pay professional soldiers at most R2,000-2,500, in other words one-half of what is currently needed to make people volunteer to engage in military labor rather than performing their compulsory service.

We have estimated that we would need an additional R65 billion for a professional army's manpower acquisition. The Army is simply in no position to request such a sum of money at a time of—as you correctly remarked—mass impoverishment. Even a "limited" combination of contracts and universal compulsory service would require R40 billion a year. In my view, it would be shameless to even raise this question in the Supreme Soviet.

[IZVESTIYA] Would there be many people willing to serve in the Army for R4,000 a month? This is not an especially high wage. Not by today's standards.

[Grachev] The main problems is finding the money; there are plenty of people willing to serve.

[IZVESTIYA] It is rather surprising to hear this. It seems that the Army's prestige is declining, the politicians are every now and again involving it in their games, there are tens of thousands of homeless servicemen, army life is disorganized. And suddenly...

[Grachev] As always, professional duty ranks above all else for really large numbers of servicemen. How does the song go? "The beloved country's existence is my main concern..." The following idea was put forward recently, during the strike by physicians and nurses: The state has been exploiting the medical workers' professional humanism for too long. Knowing that they, having sworn the Hippocratic oath, would still perform their duty regardless of how little they are paid and how complex the conditions in which they work. In my view, exactly the same attitude has been adopted in our country toward servicemen. There is no need to look too far for examples.

We made a defeatist decision when we started withdrawing the Western Group of Forces, having agreed beforehand with Germany to withdraw the troops over a four-year period. What is the hurry? The Americans pledged to do the same thing over 15 years. They have the opportunity to operate, as the saying goes, sensibly and with deliberation. But we are accelerating the transfer of people to locations lacking all amenities. Of course, there is dreadful dissatisfaction, especially since they are used to living comfortably and earning good money in Germany and Poland. Many of them are now thinking: Why not stay in the West? And some of them do—there have already been instances. As for those who return home, they end up—like the Uzbeks in the Northern Fleet—in conditions to which they are totally unaccustomed. Surrounded by steppe or taiga, in base compounds lacking all amenities. Is it any wonder that many of them are simply filing applications to retire. Let me remind you that these people are the best of the best, having served in elite units along the main strategic line...

[IZVESTIYA] We see that you sympathize with your subordinates not only as a minister losing his best cadres. Yet we have heard it said on occasion that you are a really tough and decisive commanding officer. In the Baltic region you are perceived as an advocate of tough decisions and hardline policy. This is due primarily to your stance on the question of troops withdrawal. What is this about? What do you think about the withdrawal of troops not from Germany, but from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia?

[Grachev] Russia's government has determined its stance on this question—the troops will be withdrawn. But I am convinced that the mistakes in Germany and Poland should not be repeated. The troops must be redeployed without haste and without psychological pressure by anyone. While stationed there, they have not done anything to deserve being kicked out, almost swept out as it were. It is necessary to thoroughly prepare for the transfer so as to enable them to perform their service normally in the new locations. Even if we are requested to get out immediately, in 1992, this does not mean that we should try and please anyone. I have bluntly told the Baltic states' leaders: There is no need to inflame the situation and whip up tension among the military, this is neither to your, nor to our, nor to the Army's advantage. The Army may resort to countermeasures when its vital interests, the military property, or the safety of servicemen's families are infringed. It may get out of my hands.

[IZVESTIYA] This curious formulation—"The Army has gotten out of hand"—can be heard increasingly often nowadays...Tell us, do you seriously believe that civilians in the Dniester Region could have seized or captured from the military 10 armored personnel carriers and 10 tanks without an advance deal with the 14th Army's leadership?

[Grachev] Not only do I believe it, I know for certain that this is what happened... But first let me finish off what I was saying about the Balts' mutual relations with the Russian Army. In my view, these relations will start running normally any time now. We have held talks with delegations from Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. Mutual understanding is already emerging on many issues, even though there are still recurrences of the former intolerance and haste. But now we are, more often than not, discussing not this question but the sale of weapons. We have nothing against it in principle—if we do not, then the West will sell them and earn the foreign currency.

And now about the Dniester Region incident involving the seizure of fighting vehicles. When Dubossary came yet again under fire from the Right Bank and the city again suffered loss of life and injuries (including about a dozen from our military units), Tiraspol's resident rose and moved to where our motorized rifle division was deployed. According to current custom, they put children, women, and old people at the head of the column. They surrounded the fighting vehicles park and demanded that equipment be released, threatening to capture it by force otherwise. The military succeeded in avoiding a clash and turning the mob back with great difficulty, having called on representatives of the public. Right at that time, however, a tank company and a motorized rifle company, comprising 10 tanks and 10 armored personnel carriers, were making their way back from fire practice at the firing range. The mob blocked their way, women and children immediately lay down under the wheels and tracks, and this was how they were seized. But I must declare: Not a single one of the seized tanks and armored personnel carriers has fired to this day. It is difficult to repossess the equipment, even though it has been located—women and children are "on duty" under each vehicle's tracks.

[IZVESTIYA] What is your attitude toward the appearance of military advisers like General Makashov in the Dniester Region?

[Grachev] Extremely negative. The reason why he is trying to score points over there is obvious, he is evidently getting ready for new "battles" for the office of president.

[IZVESTIYA] You mentioned casualties among the military in the Dniester Region. News like this is reported almost daily nowadays. Has anyone been ever held criminally responsible for attacks on military installations or the murder of soldiers and officers? On the other hand, have any servicemen been held responsible for siding with one of the warring sides without any permission from their superior commanders?

[Grachev] I know of no cases of proceedings being instituted in former Union republics against persons guilty of attacking military installations and servicemen. Not even against those guilty of murder. Instances like these are increasingly often passed over in silence in these sovereign states. And even if they do become public knowledge, there is always a standard explanation for the incident: It was all done by unknown extremists who, unfortunately, have not been traced.

As for our Army command's reaction to the incidents which you mentioned...There is no longer a specialized military prosecutor's office, it has been transferred entirely to the Russian Prosecutor's Office which attributes the poor rate of detection to an overload of work. And even if an investigation is conducted, it is more often than not fruitless.

[IZVESTIYA] The leaders of the new states, formerly our Union republics, were for very long rather unanimous in proclaiming that the Russian Army's presence in their region was a destabilizing factor. This unanimity is no longer in evidence. True enough, Moldovan President M. Snegur is now saying this louder than anyone else ever did before.

[Grachev] I must say that the military-political situation in the CIS countries, and even in a country like Georgia which does not belong to the Commonwealth, is very complex. We have no intention of keeping our troops where they are subjected to danger and insults every day, where they are perceived as occupiers. I have made an unambiguous decision on the Transcaucasus: The Army is pulling out of Azerbaijan, as well as out of Armenia but over a longer period of time. This is because the Armenians, having realized the entire danger threatening them, have themselves asked us to stay on. Georgia is also asking the same. I have talked about this with E. Shevardnadze, T. Sigua, and the republic's military leadership. Different states are realizing more and more firmly: Our Army is present on different territories not because we are only too fond of other people's land. We are there because without us people would start killing each other...But the most curious fact is that many republics now want the Russian Army to stay on but nobody is willing to pay for this and finance its stay. People say: It is enough that you have built your installations on our land, that you are buying bread in our stores...No, this is not enough.

Moldova is a special question. M. Snegur's claim that the 14th Army is fighting on the Left Bank's side is absurd. Let us recall how it all began. A multitude of political parties emerged in Moldova, these parties entered into confrontation with one another, verbally at first and then switched from words to practical deeds—shots were exchanged between the Left and Right Banks, people got killed. And when people get killed, the ranks of the opponents on both sides are rapidly replenished. The larger the number of people killed, the more people get involved in the conflict. The "sides" started looking for sources of arms. That was when the Dniester Region people went to where the 14th Army was deployed, captured the odd vehicle and seized assault rifles and pistols. Moldova took a different path—it recruited Romania as its ally and obtained weapons there. According to our accurate data, about 80 units of Romanian combat equipment are already on Moldovan territory, including M-30 howitzers. They have already acquired pontoons as well—to set up landing positions. It can be assumed that an offensive is being prepared. Moldova's political leadership, having failed in averting bloodshed, now seems to be striving to wash his hands and rally the people in "patriotic hatred" for the 14th Army.

I keep telling Mr. Snegur: Order a cease-fire and the Left Bank will also cease firing, you will then see how wrong it is to believe that the 14th Army almost initiated the conflict...The president refuses to do so, continuing to play the army card and provoking the 14th Army into returning fire whenever its installations are fired upon. It seems as if this is exactly what people in Moldova are waiting for to prove to the world that the country is the victim of aggression.

[IZVESTIYA] We were wrong when we said that Russia is not attacking anyone and nobody is attacking it...It seems as if Moldova is ready to declare war on Russia. Strange times! Do you recall when General Kuznetsov, the corps commander in the Crimea, was asked outright in Ukraine: If need be, will you fight against Russia? He replied: No, and he had to pay for it. What if you were asked a similar question: Will you, a Russian general and Russian minister, fight against Moldova...against Ukraine? What would be your answer?

[Grachev] I would rather keep silent on this issue. Honestly, I simply cannot imagine us fighting one another. How can Russia fight against Ukraine or Byelarus, or Ukraine against Byelarus?

[IZVESTIYA] It appears that at times politicians put the army and ordinary people in some unnatural situation? Whereby something that could only have been dreamt of in a nightmare yesterday, could become reality... Have any of your friends already sworn an oath of loyalty to another state from among the former USSR republics? If so, what is your attitude toward their action?

[Grachev] Yes, some friends have, old classmates and fellow students from the academy. My attitude is negative. Let me try and explain this using the example you have already mentioned. Valeriy Nikolayevich Kuznetsov and I studied together at the General Staff Academy. I was a group commander, he was a postgraduate student. Thus: Kuznetsov was one of the first to swear an oath of loyalty to Ukraine. Somehow this fact is not all that well known. He accepted, most probably justifying his action the same way as many others: This is where I live, my home is here, so is my family, my plot of land. Having sworn the oath, however, Kuznetsov's relations started deteriorating and he was finally asked that unfortunate question. Consequently he was maltreated and removed from duty. At that point in time he announced a hunger strike in protest, held himself out to be a Russian patriot, and hinted that he would be prepared to return to Russia...Put yourselves in my shoes: What should I do if he were to file an application? Take him back or not? Yes, he was courageous enough to declare that he would not fight against us, but he did swear a second oath of loyalty, where is the guarantee that he would not swear a third one if need arose?

[IZVESTIYA] Your sentence is as harsh as if passed in wartime.

[Grachev] I have lived long enough in such conditions. Ever since I graduated from the academy in 1981. Nothing but hot spots. Straightaway to Afghanistan for two years. A short break, then back there again for more than three years. Then it started in our own country-...First here, then there. My wife keeps saying: You are always following the smell of gunpowder.

Gaydar Details Plan To Repay Debts in Gold

OW0306184492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1721 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian deputy prime minister Yegor Gaydar speaking at the meeting of a tripartite commission for pay claims on Wednesday [3 June] said the government was ready to pay in gold coins to the regions it owed most, adding it had enough gold reserves to mint them.

He said the cabinet passed a resolution on Monday for incomes to be tied to the inflation rate if wages and salaries were not paid in time. Gaydar said it would cost the government an extra Rbl [ruble] 4 billion spending a month. He described short money supply as number one in social tension though part of the blame for back pay and debt lay with the plants not the government. Gaydar said the government was ready to turn a blind eye on the debt run by some plants which are starved of cash to pay wages.

The vice-premier also informed that a total of Rbl 64 billion were printed in May, with Rbl 142 billion and Rbl 250 billion to be rolled off the printing press this month and in August respectively. Intensive effort is underway to print a Rbl 5,000 note which he hopes will be put in circulation in July instead of August as planned.

Gaydar said the imbalance between retail and wholesale prices was the main trouble at the moment adding retail prices were being restricted by falling demand while wholesale prices continued to rise rapidly. However, he stressed there was a sign of reversal in April.

Tho government is ready to provide additional additional credit to plants, said the vice prime minister, also by way of creating what he described as a market of secondary obligations. It also intends to borrow from the Central Bank of Russia to buy out debts.

At the same time, Gaydar attacked the current practice of mutual non-payment of debt describing it as irresponsible and stupid. But the government is ready to provide credit support to help service non-payment of debts of "local nature".

IF [INTERFAX] note: The Central Bank of Russia puts this kind of default at Rbl 1,600 billion at mid-May. The Government and the Bank reached agreement in April to earmark a Rbl 200 billion credit to help service part of the debt by the end of this year. Last week, president Yeltsin also promised an extra Rbl 200 billion credit to the oil and gas industry in the next three months.

In a reply to questions, Gaydar said the government had now asked for parliamentary approval of its proposal for the top ceiling of income tax to be halved from 60% down to 30%.

On the oil-producing sector, the deputy prime minister said oil prices were now being settled rather than set free.

On the dismissal of the fuel and energy minister Vladimir Lopukhin, he said the decision was Mr. Yeltsin's alone, but he himself had nothing against Lopukhin who was embracing crucial reform in his sector. Gaydar said the president's decision was prompted by continued criticism of having no representatives of the industrial sector in his government. I very much hope that the new minister is also committed to reform in his sector, said Gaydar.

'Bogged Down in Bargaining'

LD0406023892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The topic of the deregulation of the prices of energy carriers has been discussed very painfully in recent times. Diametrically opposed viewpoints are sometimes expressed. The Russian tripartite commission session on the regulation of social and labor relations took place today in Moscow. It was expected, specifically, that the social consequences of the deregulation of the prices of energy carriers would be discussed at it, but the main news lay elesewhere: the entrepreneurs and trade unions attending the tripartite meeting proposed that the Russian Supreme Soviet should be asked to place the Central Bank under the jurisdiction of the government.

The tripartite commission, comprising representatives of the government, entrepreneurial circles and the trade unions, met today in order to discuss emergency measures to surmount the payments crisis. Everyone, even members of the Supreme Soviet, knows that it has begun. The measures proposed by the government as regards payments to citizens are already well-known—increasing cashless accounts and introducing settlement checks [raschetnyye cheki], 5,000 ruble notes and even gold coins, literally gold, to clear the debts. Apart from this, there is indexation of the delayed payments with an 80 percent annual rate of interest. In July and August, when emissions reach 250 billion, stabilization will set in, according to Gaydar. But the greatest problem is posed by nonpayments between enterprises, which amounted to 1.6 billion in mid-May. There are plans to resolve the problem by issuing credits totalling 200 billion rubles to industry, but this will lead, in the Central Bank's opinion, to good-for-nothing enterprises and defense-complex firms crawling out of the morass. It is planned, as a second measure, to introduce reciprocal settlements [vzaimozachety] which have already come into being in several regions.

[Begin Russian Industry Minister A. A. Titkin recording] All this will cause additional inflation. But no one knows what is worse—to opt for regulating inflation that is out of control, knowing in advance for what purpose it is being done, or to bring about a social explosion if nothing is done. [end recording]

In a situation of the most acute crisis, the entrepreneurs and trade unions suggest that a further step could be taken—transferring the management of the Central Bank to the government, leaving only monitoring and credit functions to the Supreme Soviet. But no decisions were actually taken. The participants became bogged down in bargaining, the quorum gradually melted away, and the session was adjourned.

Decree on Indexation of Unpaid Wages Signed

LD0306221192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin today signed a Russian Government decision on the indexation of wages which are on deposit. It says:

To allow state enterprises and institutions, exceptionally, to index, in May and June of this year, the wages of manual and office workers, unpaid owing to the lack of cash and placed on deposit, at an 80% annual rate of interest. To compensate state enterprises, institutions, and organizations for the amount of the aforementioned indexation from the funds of the Russian republican budget.

Resolution on Developing Fuel Industry Issued

LD0406085892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2100 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Following Viktor Chernomyrdin's appointment to the post of minister of fuel and power engineering, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a number of government resolutions regarding the oil and gas industry of the republic. One of them aimed at developing the oil processing industry is of special importance. The document says to ensure the sufficient supply of the national economy with motor fuel, lubricating oil and other petrochemical products it is envisaged to modernize enterprises of this industry and introduce highly effective technologies. It is also decided to attract foreign credits to finance the necessary works and the building of new powerful oil refineries. For the purpose of redeeming loans, the Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering is allowed to issue to oil refineries quotas for exporting part of their products in quantities ensuring the full compensation of their hard currency expenditure.

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The resolution "On the Attraction of Foreign Banks' Credits to the Gas Industry" deals with the problem of developing new natural gas deposits, reconstructing systems of major pipe-lines and increasing Russia's export potential. To this end, the "Gasprom" concern is permitted to attract in 1992-1998 foreign purposive credits worth up to 8.7 billion U.S. dollars through the Vnesheconombank and other authorized Russian banks.

The concern will have to redeem the main debt-service on these credits and pay interest on them at the expense of using the earnings from the export of natural gas. At the same time the "Gasprom" is not exempted from the obligatory sale of part of its profits to the republican currency reserve.

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However, there is no reason to worry that all gas will be sold abroad. The government resolution "On Measures to Ensure the Stable Supply of the Russian Economy with Gas at the Autumn-Winter Period of 1992-1993" suggests that the "Gasprom" concern should pump up no less than 28 billion cubic meters of gas to underground gas storage tanks. Meanwhile, taking into account the deficit of fuel resources and the decline in industrial production, from June to October of 1992 the issue of gas to industrial consumers and power stations will be decreased by ten per cent from the volumes stipulated by contracts.

Government, Ambassadorial Appointments Viewed

PM0406095392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 May 92 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] By decree of the Russian Federation president, Vladislav Nikolayevich Tumanov has been appointed head of the Pskov Oblast Administration.

By decree of the Russian president, the following Russian Federation ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary have been appointed: Vladimir Petrovich Stupishin to the Republic of Armenia; Yuriy Aleksandrovich Reshetov to Iceland; Leonid Alekseyevich Skotnikov to the Netherlands; Vladimir Yakovlevich Plechko to the Republic of Moldova; Valeriy Dmitriyevich Nikolayenko to the Greek Republic. I.N. Krasavin has been relieved of his duties as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Iceland in view of his retirement.

By order of the Russian Federation president, Lira Ivanovna Rozenova has been appointed chairman of the Prices Committee at the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy and Russian Federation deputy minister of the economy.

Commercial Espionage Service To Be Established

LD0306201592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1730 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—According to some reports, in September the security service with the Russia president will take joint ventures and external economy firms in the

Far East under its guard and control. The local branch of the presidential security service will also engage in covert inspection of the firms financial solvency as well as their integrity as regards cooperation with foreign companies, PF [POSTFACTUM] was told on June 3 by an officer of the Far Eastern military counter-intelligence administration of the Russian Federation Security Ministry. The security service is to be financed as a separate article in the state budget and will not be part of the Security or Interior Ministries, the officer said. According to unconfirmed reports, security service regional bureaux with the Russian Federation Government will take on former KGB officers who were discharged before August 1991 and who have no close links with the party nomenclatura and the criminal world. There has also been information that foreign representatives of the service will be recruited from among former KGB spies and probably some journalists. According to the said source, by forming a service of the kind the president's cabinet will give an impulse to the development of the commercial and industrial espionage that no country can do without.

Sources close to major commercial enterprises have spoken out in favor of creating the service, although this should have been done much earlier, before the state law enforcement bodies had time to merge with the mafia structures and the guarding and detection agencies had time to become stroger financially, they said. The security service expects to start accepting orders from commercial structures as early as October.

Northern Fleet's Tasks, Problems Examined

PM0306114592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jun 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Vice Admiral Oleg Aleksandrovich Yerofeyev, commander of the Northern Fleet, by Captain First Rank S. Bystrov, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Naval Desk editor; place and date not given: "'The Foundation of Russia's Naval Might Is Right Here...', According to Vice Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev, 13th Commander of the Northern Fleet"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] From KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's files: Oleg Aleksandrovich Yerofeyev was born in 1940 in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, in the family of a serviceman who was commander of an aviation regiment. He graduated from the Caspian Higher Naval School in 1961, and began his service career on a Northern Fleet diesel submarine. He has served in all capacities on nuclear submarines since 1963. He was member of the command teams [dopushchen k upravleniyu] of six prototype nuclear-powered vessels. He commanded a strategic submarine, headed a division of multirole submarines, and was chief of staff of the Pacific Fleet's submarine flotilla. He graduated from the Naval Academy and the General Staff Military Academy, and was then appointed commander of the Northern Fleet's submarine flotilla. Three years later he was the fleet's chief of staff, and last March was appointed commander of the Northern Fleet. He is a candidate of military sciences. He has a daughter and a granddaughter.

[Bystrov] Oleg Aleksandrovich, some people think that all our fleets today are virtually laid up. To what extent does this correspond with reality?

[Yerofeyev] According to the results of 1991, the Northern Fleet seamen gained one-half of the Navy's prizes for basic categories of combat training. This is a sign of the fleet's intense and high-quality activity. True enough, we have somewhat restricted the cruising zone in line with the defensive doctrine. Basically, our region covers the Barents Sea and the Norwegian Sea.

[Bystrov] And in all probability the Northern Fleet is acquiring new ships, as in the past?

[Yerofeyev] Certainly. Nuclear-powered submarines, for example. They represent a new step in our shipbuilding. Toward the end of last year and the beginning of this year we conducted a search operation which produced high results. Our new submarine tracked a U.S. strategic submarines for five days and nights, and the tracking was ended only on orders from the Main Staff. In other words, the Americans could not shake off our tracker by themselves. This fact alone is highly indicative.

[Bystrov] In other words, it evidently testifies that the Americans, having enjoyed certain technical advantages in building nuclear-powered vessels, are now losing these advantages?

[Yerofeyev] Yes, in terms of noise level our latest submarines are getting closer to the U.S. submarines, in other words to the best standards in world submarine building. The closure of this gap is very important. We used to have a shorter detection range due to the submarines' high noise level. This shortcoming is now being eliminated.

[Bystrov] Therefore, our fleet is beginning to feel more confident. And the latest detections of U.S. submarines in our waters prove not so much that the U.S. Navy has stepped up such operations, but rather that we are now capable of monitoring our own waters more thoroughly?

[Yerofeyev] As a rule, all these detections were accomplished by new ships. And of course, personnel training has improved. Perfect equipment demands perfect utilization. We are now in the process of intensive base training of personnel. On the one hand we are saving motor capacity, and on the other hand we are better trained when putting to sea to work out practical tasks.

[Bystrov] How will this process be affected by the transition to two-year service by sailors and petty officers?

[Yerofeyev] So far we have not been affected by it. It is clear, however, that the transition to reduced terms of service will make us seek new forms and methods for personnel training. The main point is that the sailors and crews have an opportunity to tackle only their professional tasks.

Now we are intensively working to bring ships' crews to full complement through extended service. Last month about 1,000 men from the fleet expressed a desire to serve on contract. Sailors and civilians are more actively applying for warrant officer vacancies due to job cutbacks in the country. But there is a restraining factor here: Under current regulations, someone who is already working in the North would lose all northern pay supplements when joining the Navy. This question needs urgent solution. And the earnings in general still do not guarantee reliable service by people. There are difficulties with provision of housing area. There are 5,000 homeless men in the fleet. These are officers and warrant officers with families. We are unable to even house servicemen joining us on contract, be it even in single-room barrack accommodation.

[Bystrov] How has the retargeting of strategic missiles affected the fleet?

[Yerofeyev] At present the missiles on strategic missile-carrying submarine cruisers are not targeted on any specific targets. We have entire packages of alternate targets, which commanders follow according to the orders they have received.

[Bystrov] Has combat service been reduced now?

[Yerofeyev] It proceeds in line with the Navy commander's directives. Of course, the number of ships on combat service has been reduced, but the composition of forces on standby alert has been increased accordingly. Moreover, we now have better intelligence, which enables us to promptly deploy our forces whenever necessary.

[Bystrov] The Northern Fleet has always been distinguished by mighty nuclear-powered submarines. Evidently, they are still the fleet's main concern?

[Yerofeyev] Certainly. But we have also acquired some very good and much-needed surface ships. Primarily the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union Kuznetsov. It must be said that its crew has really matured professionally since joining the fleet. The new missile-carrying ships and destroyers, including nuclear-powered surface ships, are of great help to the fleet.

[Bystrov] The Kuznetsov has been mentioned. What are the prospects for its maintenance? After all, our major problem has always been the roadstead maintenance of major ships.

[Yerofeyev] For the first time in the Navy's history, this large aircraft-carrying ship was immediately made fast to a pier built especially for it, rather than anchoring in the roadsteads. In other words, we are switching to civilized maintenance of ships. Since the building of the base is still in progress, there are still shortcomings as regards supplying the cruiser with electricity, steam, and water. But even now we are not particularly worried about the cruiser's maintenance and safekeeping. We are building another identical pier for other large ships. In other words, the Northern Fleet is not in a state of confusion even in these complex times. The fleet is developing and consolidating its infrastructure. We realize that it will be the foundation of Russia's naval might.

[Bystrov] The question of ship repairs has always posed a problem for the fleet. Even in the past, when funds always seemed forthcoming for the military-industrial complex, there were problems with ship repairs. Are they likely to evolve into a crisis now?

[Yerofeyev] Yes, the situation with ship repairs is exceptionally complex. This is due to reduced appropriations. We will receive only 39 percent of ship repair funds this year. The amount for combat ships will be somewhat higher—up to 47 percent. A conference led by Russian President B. Yeltsin was held recently at Severodvinsk's Northern Machine Building Enterprise. He promised to earmark additional funds for this enterprise so as to guarantee jobs for the working class, preserve this enterprise which is unique in the world, and ensure the necessary conditions for ship repairs.

[Bystrov] The situation in the fleet—and I base this remark on personal observations and conversation with many officials and now with you—still appears to be favorable. Will our main fleet enjoy such relative stability for a long time?

[Yerofeyev] Stability in the fleet depends primarily on people. I therefore believe that the people's mood, which is still good, should be supported by us and the government. If the personnel, especially the officers and warrant officers, realize that they are needed and their labor is appreciated and recognized, they will succeed in maintaining the fleet in a state of stability.

[Bystrov] But you still have problems with cadres? I have heard that even some really promising officers are trying to leave their high-ranking positions?

[Yerofeyev] We intend to effect cutbacks in the fleet through natural wastage—excising not the living parts but entire moribund organisms. A submarine ends its service life, it is written off, the combined unit's strength is reduced by one combat unit, and so on. Jobs will be found for officers and warrant officers wishing to continue their service—we still have a certain shortage of cadres. This cadre equilibrium will be maintained. There will be no wholesale cutbacks in the fleet. There will be at least two stages. The first through 1995, and the second through the year 2000. These will not be cutbacks for cutbacks' sake, but for the sake of enhancing the fleet's efficiency, quality, and technology standards, in other words a natural process for all leading navies in the world.

[Bystrov] Oleg Aleksandrovich, everything indicates that you, having taken over as fleet commander, feel sufficiently calm and confident. Nonetheless, there are obviously problems whose solution brooks no delay?

[Yerofeyev] Political decisions on the performance of service by servicemen are needed as soon as possible. Some 52 percent of the fleet's personnel are Russians [russkiye]. The remaining 48 percent are servicemen of other nationalities. One in four of them is Ukrainian. The proportion for warrant officers is one in three. We receive requests from the defense ministries of Ukraine and other CIS countries to release officers and warrant officers for service in their own national formations. Of course, this is not conducive to the fleet's normal life and work. We have no criminal incidents on interethnic grounds. But specific people do receive letters and invitations, various advances are made to them. In other words, the seamen are prevented from performing their service, a certain nervousness is introduced in relations... But the contradictions and problems will disappear once it is politically determined how many men will join the fleet and from where. Of course, we realize that the fleet will be manned mainly by Russian citizens [rossiyane], but since the Navy intends to assign some of its forces to the CIS Armed Forces, the other Commonwealth countries should supply manpower for the fleet.

I would like to see a more efficient solution to questions concerning material backup for the personnel. Numerous complications arise through the long-established and totally incomprehensible discrimination as regards the pay of civilian specialists and workers in the fleet. They have always received less than their counterparts doing identical jobs in civilian institutions. The difference nowadays is greater by an entire order of magnitude. We keep knocking on various office doors, but life cannot wait. Problems have started developing even as regards the personnel's pay. One-third of the fleet's personnel have not received their pay for March, while some ships have yet to receive their at-sea allowances for September-October last year. Since they are paid in foreign currency and the fleet has no foreign currency, we need a high ruble exchange rate. We are trying to make sure that at-sea allowances are paid at least to seamen on compulsory service being discharged into the reserve. The fleet receives so little cash that at times I, in my capacity as commander, have to personally pay it out.

[Bystrov] And one last question. What is the main task that you, the 13th commander of the Northern Fleet, perceive facing you during your time in charge?

[Yerofeyev] The main objective is to preserve the fleet. Its intellectual potential, rich combat traditions, new ships, aviation. This is now also the main task facing our entire Navy.

Arms Industry Ills Force High-Tech Sales Abroad

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[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradioveshchatelnaya Kompaniya Moskva Television in Russian at 1500 GMT on 28 May, in its daily feature program "Moscow Panorama", carries a 15-minute feature by journalist S. Yurakov entitled "Farewell to Arms" on the problems of the Russian arms industry that are forcing manufacturers to sell their high-tech weaponry abroad. The feature focuses on the Yak-141 fighter aircraft and BMP-3 infantry combat vehicle.

The feature opens with closeups of a fighter aircraft in vertical takeoff. The date 13/3/91 is superimposed on the pictures. Over these shots, Yurakov says, "This aircraft passed all its scientific tests with flying colors, but got caught in the financial snares of conversion and trapped by lack of money. It only just managed to escape, and now is unlikely to remain in its homeland. It will fly off to warmer countries.

The camera then switches to an interview with a man identified by screen caption as K.F. Popovich, deputy chief designer of the A.S. Yakovlev Design Bureau, who is shown seated by a fighter aircraft inside a hangar. During the interview, the camera shows external views of the aircraft from various angles and closeups of the inside of the cockpit. The interview is as follows:

[Popovich] The Yak-141 is a multi-purpose VTOL [vertical takeoff and landing] supersonic aircraft and has a performance comparable to the Mig-29 under the same conditions of takeoff from a spring board. This was confirmed by the world records that we recently set. We have set 12 world records for takeoff speed and maximum flying height. All this enables us to say that the performance of this aircraft are at the best world level, or even considerably higher.

[Yurakov] How are VTOL aircraft developing abroad?

[Popovich] The Harrier jet has undergone numerous modifications and there is now the (?AV-8B) aircraft that is based on the Harrier and has a considerably better performance than the Harrier, but it is still a subsonic aircraft.

[Yurakov] What do you think is the reason for the refusal to finance such a promising aircraft as this?

[Popovich] I think it is the overall situation that the country is in.

[Yurakov] How do you intend to solve the problem of funding?

[Popovich] One way would be to look for countries that might be interested in jointly manufacturing our aircraft. We have spent enormous sums of money on building this plane. That money was taken from our people by our state, and if this project is dropped, the money will have been irrecoverably lost.

[Yurakov] Yes, but joint manufacture of a fighter aircraft, especially for foreign clients, is nothing other than weapons export.

[Popovich] This aircraft is a weapon of retaliation that in the event of a first strike enables you to keep your fighting potential and continue military action to repulse the aggressor. So in this sense I do not think that the moral question arises.

[Yurakov] What benefits do you think that the export of weapons-related technology gives our country?

[Popovich] This is very high technology, and sales of these sorts of technology are multi-billion deals. It would be not just the sale of our intellectual potential, so to speak, but recoupment of the money that either the country or the company has invested in those technologies. [interview ends]

Over shots of what appear to be U.S. fighter aircraft in flight, taking off and landing on an aircraft carrier, Yurakov continues: "Military technology is the most profitable thing to sell, and all the Western countries are fighting tooth and nail for the markets where it can be sold. It is no secret that one of the aims of the recent Gulf war was to squeeze Soviet weapons out of the market. However, that war only confirmed the promising nature of the latest developments of our arms producers. The leading air industries of the world are now working hard to develop supersonic VTOL and STOL [short takeoff and landing] aircraft that are easy to position in dispersed locations and to camouflage. The West is expected to take no less than 15 years to produce such machines, but in Russia one has already been built. There are foreign investors who would like to invest money in this new aircraft, and there are potential buyers, but to date the Russian Government, despite a presidential decree, has prevented direct contracts from being signed between the Russian aircraft manufacturers and foreign investors, and the manufacturers of the new Yak aircraft can neither sell their product, nor obtain ruble funding for it.

The camera switches to an interview with a man identified as Yu.A. Koltsov, who is shown seated in what appears to be the Yakovlev Design Bureau museum where propeller-driven and jet fighter planes are shown standing side by side. The interview goes as follows:

[Yurakov] Why is it that the manufacture of (?STOL) aircraft is very well funded in our country, but there is no money to build VTOL aircraft?

[Koltsov] I would say that the internal market has been taken over. You get one design bureau, one collective, taking over the internal market and then traditionally holding that internal market in its hands. And since this one design bureau or one organization holds the market, it comes up with the theoretical reasons why things should be done a certain way.

[Yurakov] But the interests of an individual design bureau cannot be above the country's defense interests, can they?

[Koltsov] Yes, they can, until we have a clear system at parliamentary level for filtering, evaluating, and analyzing the concepts of development of an armaments program.

[Yurakov] Why is it that our air force has shown no interest in the Yak-141?

[Koltsov] I am going to do something I shouldn't and broadcast a military secret. [camera cuts from medium shot to closeup] It has become clear that no one has thought seriously about it, and if you were to look to see if any investigations had been made into the expediency of using VTOL aircraft in the air force, you would find that they had not.

[Yurakov] But how is that possible? After all, we have a defense doctrine of reasonable sufficiency.

[Koltsov] I hate to say this, but I do not think we have a working military doctrine.

[Yurakov] How is it, then, if we have no doctrine, that we talk about reducing military expenditure?

[Koltsov] We are really just groping our way along. [interview ends]

The camera then switches to an interview with A.A. Kokoshin, Russian Federation deputy defense minister, who is shown seated in an office. Kokoshin says: "The most likely conflicts now are what are called in the West low-intensity—the conflicts that you could not cope with using the equipment that we primarily used to have. We need to create the hardware that really is a deterrence against such conflicts and—if the conflict cannot be prevented—that can be used rapidly and decisively to reestablish the situation that existed before the fighting began with conditions that are advantageous to us. Conversion should not be an end in itself. It should be relatively subordinated, I think, to two main tasks: First, the task of creating a strong, competitive industry in Russia and bringing Russia into the world community on conditions befitting a great state with a strong industry that is competitive on world markets; and second—the second direction that conversion should be based on—is, of course, a clearcut military doctrine that should say quite calmly and firmly what parts of our defense industry we are transferring to civilian uses for the long term future, perhaps forever, and what we are keeping for our vitally important defense requirements."

Next, the camera shows medium and close shots of a combat vehicle being driven along a test track. Over these pictures, Yurakov comments: "One example of vitally important military hardware is the new BMP-3 infantry combat vehicle that has been undergoing tests at the test site in (?Fuginka). The vehicle is heavily armed with automatically controlled small-caliber cannons. No other country in the world has vehicles such as these. The

BMP-3 is the latest achievement of Russian armored vehicle technology, but before it could be supplied to the troops of the CIS, it had to be offered for sale abroad because of the country's shortage of foreign currency."

After the vehicle draws to a halt, Yurakov is shown interviewing a man in army uniform identified as Professor V.N. Bryzgov, doctor of technical sciences. The interview is as follows:

[Yurakov] When this vehicle was shown abroad it drew great attention. Why was this?

[Bryzgov] It did draw great interest. It is a multipurpose vehicle that can be used by ground troops and, being amphibious, it can be used by air assault forces and marines. Great interest was shown in it by the Arab countries. It underwent quite intensive comparative tests alongside American and British models, and I believe that serious talks are being conducted for it to be sold abroad.

[Yurakov] How much would this sort of vehicle sell for?

[Bryzgov] Well, the M11 and (?LeClerc) tanks are selling today for more than $3 or $4 million. Those are the impressive sums of money that can be obtained by selling arms, and if we have the technology and the people that are capable of making such vehicles, we should make them and sell them. As far as defense conversion is concerned, my view is that it is better to make money out of high technology vehicles such as BMP's [armored personnel vehicles] than to convert the manufacturing facilities to produce, for example, tractors, just because the manufacturing process is similar. No matter how similar the manufacturing process is, the technology is far inferior. It is therefore better to sell vehicles like this and use the money to buy thousands and thousands of tractors, rather than break up the manufacturing process and produce something lesser and simpler. I think that one of the ways of funding conversion outside of the budget is foreign trade to sell vehicles like this. The money should not then disappear somewhere into the bottomless pits of our budget, but should be used directly for conversion purposes. This would ensure greater interest on the part of those people who are engaged in conversion, and the money would be used more purposefully. In other words, the money should be used for specific purposes.

[Yurakov] What technology has been developed in your institute that could be used for civilian purposes?

[Bryzgov] We are now engaged in quite substantial work to set up a joint operation with the (Galitsynskiy) automobile plant that will be manufacturing buses under licence from Mercedes. The plant is showing considerable interest both in our methodologies and in what we have done, for example, in the field of power supply for our vehicles. It turns out that our developments are extremely suitable for use in the high-class, luxury buses produced by Mercedes.

[Yurakov] How do you think conversion is proceeding in our country?

[Bryzgov] Most enterprises now are carrying out conversion at their own risk. There is no investment in conversion. No one knows what facilities should be converted to fundamentally different types of production, what should be converted to affilliated production, and what facilities should be shut down. In other words, there are many questions that still remain open. I think that this is primarily a task for the government, which should have a clear policy in this area.

[Yurakov] And do you think that the government leaders are sufficiently competent in the field of conversion?

[Bryzgov] Well, it is difficult for me to say how competent they are, but certain statements and things that they write in the press make me think that some of them have a pretty superficial idea about how this industry functions, what it contains, what it can do, and what it cannot do.

Over further shots of the combat vehicle driving along the test track, Yurakov concludes: "There are now new people at the controls. They have given a decisive start to economic reform, which is gathering pace. It is important now not to make mistakes, to keep a firm course on this sharp turn toward a market economy, and to use the defense industry's export potential fully in order to carry out its conversion efficiently and retain qualified personnel."

General Staff Academy Discusses Armed Forces

PM0206114892 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jun 92 pp 1, 3

[Report by Colonel G. Miranovich: "Russia's Armed Forces Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, a scientific conference on the subject of "Russia's Military Security" was held 27-30 May at the General Staff academy. We describe some details of this event of state importance.

And so, 100, Vernadskiy Avenue. For four days here, in the building of our chief military school, wise men with and without shoulder boards, practical specialists with ranks from lieutenant colonel to marshal, and representatives of the military-industrial complex and Russia's legislative and executive power compared their views of its armed forces and everything connected with their building and use.

And the very fact that the conference was held at a time of such difficulty for the country and its embryonic army and the fact that what may be termed the flower of our military science was represented at it seems to me to say a lot. Above all that Russia does not intend to build its army and navy without thinking, without a very serious study of all questions connected with the subject. Virtually every speaker expressed himself in favor of this approach toward military building. Here, as Russian

Federation Vice President A. Rutskoy noted in his brief address to the gathering, we must operate in a military manner: clarify the task, assess the situation, and make a decision.

Actually, except for the last point, since it is nonetheless the politicians who have to make the decisions, that is how the participants in the conference "operated." Russia, many of them stressed, has displayed a wise restraint in the matter of military backup for its sovereignty, trying to resolve the question of collective security within the framework of the CIS. It is an example of a responsible attitude toward problems which affect the interests of all peoples populating the territory of the former USSR. It is all the more important now that circumstances have obliged Russia to embark in earnest on the creation of its own armed forces, to resist the lagging behind syndrome, and to prevent hasty, rash decisions. Even now when through the will of the politicians virtually all subjects of the Commonwealth have been drawn into the "militarization" process, we must not lose hope of the possibility of their cooperation in the military sphere, the possibility of the implementation of the idea of collective security.

This idea was heard particularly clearly in the speech delivered by Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Jointed Armed Forces. Noting Russia's leading role in resolving problems of ensuring collective security, he stressed that Russia's armed forces are objectively the nucleus of the military component of that security.

INCIDENTALLY. **Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov reported that right now the managerial structures of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command are being formed. At the next meeting of CIS heads of state scheduled for 6 June in Moscow they will be submitted for approval. It is also planned to hold a scientific conference on problems of collective security.**

Touching on problems of collective security, Army General P. Grachev, Russian defense minister, noted that already many CIS states are expressing the wish to embark on bilateral and multilateral talks to determine the status of the troops which are on their territories and which do not belong to their own armed forces. This problem should be resolved immediately. To create coalition forces of the allies in the CIS it will be necessary to deploy groupings of general-purpose forces in the relevant regions.

And nonetheless the determining idea in the debate was the idea of Russia's security. Naturally, that determined the nature of the debate.

How can someone not involved in military science fail to shiver when he hears, for instance, Major General Ye. Korotchenko, a professor at the General Staff academy, who shook even scholars with the figures for our possible losses from an aggressor's first strike? "What aggressor is he talking about?" the man in the street might say indignantly. "No one intends to attack us..." Yet the professor was talking sense and his computations were by no means the fruit of a sick imagination but the result of profound research and a scientific assessment of the military-strategic situation which has taken shape in the world. Taken shape, according to the assessments of a number of other scientists, in a way which is obviously not in Russia's favor.

And there were many such speeches. But none of those present in the hall, including civilians, took them as saber-rattling or as a threat to anyone's security. And that is understandable. Because, first, Russia now is not in the mood for threats and if you have in mind its own Armed Forces it has nothing with which to threaten anyone. Although objectively in the light of what is now taking place over the expanses of the former Union and given that Russia does not have complete external sovereignty, as Academician E. Pozdnyakov noted, Russia acts more as a factor of destabilization. And, second, this talk was distinguished by the fact that it was conducted not by bellicose dilettantes, whose arguments on army-related topics are still used by some newspapers and journals to intimidate their readers, but by people who have a perfect knowledge of their subject.

INCIDENTALLY. **During the four-day debate over 60 people spoke. The majority have some kind of academic degree. In all about 300 people took part in the work of the conference.**

The debate nature of the talk largely predetermined the report delivered by Colonel General I. Rodionov, chief of the General Staff academy, entitled "Some approaches toward the elaboration of Russia's military doctrine"—a report based on a profound scientific analysis of existing realities and development trends in military matters. Many people called this report a bold one. That is how it was assessed in his concluding speech by Defense Minister Army General D. Grachev.

And indeed much of what the speaker said would hardly have been heard before from the lips of a military man, even in a situation of strict secrecy. For instance, the previous drafts of our military doctrine did not contain a hint about the armed forces' task of routing an aggressor. There was merely mention of dislodging him with the subsequent restoration of "a just and lasting peace." But now it was planned without any beating about the bush to stipulate precisely how the country and its armed forces should act in the event of aggression. There was a critical analysis of previously existing views regarding the use of nuclear weapons and the "strictly defensive" nature of military doctrine.

Anticipating somewhat, I shall note that the Russian defense minister, touching on the questions raised in the report, stressed that from the doctrinal provision regarding the renunciation of the first use of military force and nuclear weapons it by no means follows that we must should only defend ourselves always and everywhere. In the event of aggression we have the right to choose those means of combat which we deem most effective in the existing situation. In the long term Russia may be legally registered as having the status of the only nuclear power within the CIS, which will enable it to elaborate optimum provisions from the military-strategic and economic viewpoints for the radical reduction of strategic offensive arms.

Not everything that I. Rodionov said was welcomed unreservedly by those present. Some of their ideas, which did not coincide in every respect with the views of the keynote speaker, were imparted in particular by Russian Academicians V. Pirumov and N. Chaldymov, by military science representatives Army General M. Gareyev, Colonel Generals F. Kuzmin and Yu. Plotnikov, Lieutenant General L. Volkov, and others.

And it must be observed that the idea of the need for bolder approaches to scientific research in the sphere of military development and the theory and practice of the use of the Armed Forces was expressed quite clearly at the conference. Military scientists should not sway like weathercocks in the wake of politicians, as Major General I. Danilenko put it, but should make a professional evaluation of the realities of the time and draw scientifically substantiated conclusions. Maj. Gen. A. Vitkovskiy, deputy chief of the General Staff Military Academy for scientific work, also drew attention to this in his report "Fundamentals of the Use of the Russian Armed Forces in Future." Reminding those present how on one occasion, after a visit to the USSR by U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney, all mention of the operational maneuvering group disappeared from our training programs, he expressed misgivings lest the desire of certain scientists to adapt to suit political expediency be transferred to the new army.

These misgivings do not seem misplaced if you recall how quickly certain scientists in uniform, including some from the General Staff Academy, changed their "scientific" views after the August putsch, and then again after the "abolition" of the USSR in Belovezhskaya Forest. At the same time it was also necessary to heed the voice of those who spoke with concern about the present lamentable state of military science.

INCIDENTALLY. **Right here at the conference, Army General P. Grachev instructed leaders of military academies, scientific research institutes, and other scientific institutions to show solicitude for scientific cadres, not to destroy established scientific schools, and not to break the links that have developed. Permission was granted for a proportion of officers' posts to be filled by civilian scientists and discharged military scientists. A number of proposals for improving the military education system and resolving cadre problems in Russian military education were put forward by Colonel General Yu. Rodionov, chief of the Main Personnel Directorate, who spoke at the conference.**

At the same time there were a number of serious criticisms of military science. In particular, it was noted that much of our research in the sphere of the military art is abstract and divorced from reality. The need to strengthen the practical orientation of scientific research was stressed. And that is understandable. Russia has never before tackled tasks like today's in military development. This means the role of science is increasing. And it has to operate in conditions of strictly limited time. Scientific research needs to keep ahead of events. At the same time mistakes are impermissible, since there may not be time to eliminate them...

The reader will forgive me, but in a newspaper account it is impossible even to indicate in outline form everything that was said at such a prestigious meeting. Moreover, for obvious reasons, not everything that was said there should be publicized widely. Therefore I will only mention another two major reports, delivered by Colonel General B. Shein, first deputy chief of the General Staff Academy, and Colonel General V. Abolins, chief of the strategy faculty at the same academy. They discussed problems of the organizational development of the Russian Armed Forces in the transitional period and in the long term and the problems of preparing the country and the Armed Forces, strange as this may seem to some people, to rebuff aggression.

During the discussion of these reports and in the defense minister's concluding speech, a fairly convincing picture was presented of the difficult situation in which Russia has to build its Armed Forces. Here are just a few details from that picture. Within the CIS there is no clear picture of the borders and territories of its components. The reform of the troops and forces Russia inherited is made more difficult by the backwardness in equipping them with modern facilities. For instance, for the first time in 60 years we have not laid down a single ship for construction. The financial situation is such that the army has to economize even on uniform. More than 9,000 km of Russia's borders are not equipped in respect of fortifications. The fact that certain communications facilities are no longer on Russia's territory has made strategic leadership considerably more complex. The law of the former USSR "On Universal Military Service" is not being fulfilled, but there is no new law. Because of the list, legalized by the Union Defense Ministry, of restrictions on medical grounds for conscripts and the exemption of students from the draft, it is extremely difficult to bring the Army and Navy up to strength. Mobilization and strategic reserves [zapasy] have been almost entirely used up.

INCIDENTALLY. **During the conference Army General P. Grachev announced the decision to set up an ad hoc commission for the revision of the Russian Armed Forces. In the minister's opinion, it should include independent experts, scientists, and other people capable of objectively assessing the state of affairs.**

What else? The training of reserve officers has been virtually abolished, which is fraught with the danger of the disappearance of mobilization resources. Many enterprises of the military-industrial complex are on the brink of stoppage. Basically there is no system for notifying the population. As a result of the failure to ensure timely repairs to ships, in the last four years the fleet has lost more combat vessels than in two years of war. The air defense strategic grouping is seriously disrupted. Plus the fact that some 40,000 tonnes of chemical weapons components have been brought onto Russian land from all over the territory of the former Soviet Union, and their destruction will cost 6.5 billion rubles.

So that—in general terms—is how Russia's Armed Forces appear to the conference participants today. All the same, it was not a lament for "lost might." And I saw no one doubting that an Army and Navy worthy of great Russia will be built.

INCIDENTALLY. **I was able to talk briefly with the first officer to be appointed to his post by the Russian defense minister. He is Colonel Gennadiy Dmitriyevich Ivanov, senior teacher in the strategy faculty of the General Staff Academy. At the Defense Ministry he will deal with problems of military development and reforms. There is no ministry yet, the lucky man does not have an office, but he has ideas, and willingness to roll up his sleeves and get down to work. So things are not all that bad!**

So how do today's professionals see Russia's Armed Forces tomorrow? First and foremost, mobile, well equipped, and adapted for action according to the strategic concept of deterrence and the guaranteed rebuff of aggression from any quarter. This concept presupposes the existence of small, but powerful groupings of troops and forces ready for immediate use wherever a real threat arises. They will be made up of troops and forces on permanent readiness capable of acting effectively in local conflicts, rapid reaction forces, and strategic reserves.

Naturally, the creation of Armed Forces like this is an extremely complex and labor-intensive process requiring considerable material expenditure and clear prioritizing in the development and purchase of arms and equipment. In the defense minister's opinion, priority should be given to the development of highly mobile troops, strategic arms, air defense facilities, military space facilities, long-range high-precision weapons, army aviation, and intelligence and control systems.

It is proposed to carry out the reform of the Armed Forces in three stages over six or possibly eight years.

At the first stage (by the end of 1992) it is planned to create the Defense Ministry, define the numerical strength, structure, and sequence and time scale for the reform of the Armed Forces, specify the system of control of the Armed Forces, and create a legal base for their functioning, taking into account the provisions of international law and the agreements reached, as well as a system of social guarantees for servicemen, their families, and people discharged from military service.

At the second stage (two to three years) it is planned to complete, in the main, the withdrawal of Russian troops from other states' territories and the creation of groupings from them, to bring the numerical strength of the Armed Forces to 2.5 million by 1995, and to go over to a mixed manpower acquisition system.

In the course of the third stage it is planned to fully withdraw the troops and complete the reduction of the Armed Forces in accordance with international commitments adopted earlier, their reform, and the transition to new organizational structures taking into account the reorganization of branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops. By the end of that period the strength of the Armed Forces could be reduced to 1.5 million men.

All these are only plans as yet. Life could amend these plans. But for all that, I think it should be stressed that no "wholesale" reduction is planned in the Russian Army, as many military people fear, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers, judging by the letters the paper receives. The branch structure of the Armed Forces is also to be retained for the transitional period.

In conclusion Army General P. Grachev briefed those present on the planned structure of the Defense Ministry. If it is approved in the near future by the Russian president, as is expected, then the Defense Ministry will incorporate the General Staff, Main Operations, Organization and Mobilization, and Intelligence Directorates, and other directorates for operational planning and direct leadership of troops and forces. In addition to A. Kokoshin, who has already been named as first deputy minister, it is proposed to have four more deputies, including the chief of the General Staff.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA will, of course, tell its readers in more detail about the Russian Defense Ministry and its affairs. But for the time being let us hope that these plans and the recommendations formulated by the collective thought of scientists and practitioners are not left lying on the bosses' desks. The times demand real action.

Khasbulatov Interviewed on 'Moment of Truth'

LD3005004992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1630 GMT 27 May 92

[Interview with Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by correspondent Andrey Karaulov on the "Moment of Truth" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Karaulov] Ruslan Imranovich, tell me honestly, do you not feel you have become a dramatic figure? There are attacks on you in the papers. It must be acknowledged that you are, indeed, partly right, of course. I completely I agree that it has become fashionable to write badly about the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. To write well is, as it were, well...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] ...is bad form.

[Karaulov] But, on the other hand, it is not just the journalists who are to blame. There have been too many cases where you and your conduct turned out to be incomprehensible in specific matters of one kind or another. The plans for your new apartment are already in the papers. Everything has been noted: where the first bathroom is, where the second bathroom is, where the third...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] It is not my style to make use of the same methods, but if journalists set their sights on other people, ranking much lower than the Supreme Soviet chairman, people who are certainly not Muscovites. I have lived here for at least 31 years. I am a native Muscovite. If they became interested in them, they would surely see that their apartments are more sumptuous than the apartment of the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman.

[Karaulov] Ruslan Imranovich, they are, indeed, more sumptuous.

[Khasbulatov] If they displayed serious interest, they would find many such apartments. These are people, let me repeat, who were given and who are occupying posts several times lower in rank. [passage omitted] From the point of view of my understanding and honor and my duties I fulfil the obligations placed upon me by the Constitution. We have already mentioned state power, let us be outspoken. State power is currently weakened in our country as never before in the entire 1,000 year's of the Russian state. It is with very great difficulties that we once avoided a civil war in practice. That was during a period of several days, during the period of disintegration of the Soviet Union. We held our ground with tremendous difficulties. Now, during the period before the congress, if the Supreme Soviet had failed to take charge of the tremendous work to conclude the Federation Treaty, that Congress would have been the last. The disintegration of the Russian state would have been unavoidable.

Look, if debates on the name of the state could go on for a day and a half, how many hundreds of issues could have arisen during the process of amendments to the Constitution, the process of endorsing the draft of the new Constitution, hundreds of issues. There would have been at least five or six opportunities for our republics, not just republics, but also oblasts and krays, to leave the congress.

So, you understand that in this context I am worried by these attacks. I have not yet got to the bottom of it, but I will, of course get there. What, all the same, is the purpose of the endless attacks on the chairman of the Supreme Soviet?

[Karaulov] Do you perceive some design here, Ruslan Imranovich?

[Khasbulatov] Let me repeat, I am not yet completely persuaded, but, generally speaking, I do discern something of the kind here. It is certainly not, you know, some kind of a familiar attempt to play down the prestige, an attempt to somehow bring it down, a struggle against parliament. Do understand it yourself: a struggle against parliament, a struggle against the congress and what next? A dictatorship. But it is now ridiculous to think of a dictatorship. What kind of a dictatorship may now win the day?

This is a case of ceaseless attacks on the representative power, on parliament, on the very principle of parliamentarianism. What is parliamentarianism, if not the very kernel of democracy? There is no democracy without independent and effective parliaments. Is it really the case that journalists fail to grasp this? Journalists are clever people. Why should they play the fools?

So, this means that there is some kind of design here. It means that there is some kind of a demand here, formulated by a social class. So, let no one think that we are not pondering this or that our experts are not working on this. [passage omitted]

[Karaulov] What about the Russians in the Dniester region? What to do? How can the Supreme Soviet protect them now?

[Khasbulatov] That's one of the most complex issues. It isn't of course confined to the Dniester region. You see, speaking plainly, the disintegration of the Soviet Union—everyone must understand this correctly—is a festering wound for our fellow citizens. It's a hugely tragic event in our history. I'm not talking about whether it might have been an artificial entity. Anyway, I think I might have said a few words about that during the congress, probably more eloquently. You see, 25 million ethnic Russians and other people from Russia, our fellow citizens, 26.5 million to be more precise, have actually ended up outside the Russian state. It is a source of exceptional pain to me that, say, the Baltic states, whose nascent democracy we supported... [changes thought] I remember how on 20 August the leaders of these states were in my office. Boris Nikolayevich was there with them. This was how they phrased the question: If Russia recognizes us, then the West will say that Russia's recognizing them. The next day they will follow suit. Even before that we had concluded good agreements, which were ratified by the Russian parliament. They had precise clauses ensuring that our fellow citizens would be protected. We concluded agreements with other states as well. But despite this, rights are being violated, trampled upon. You know that the people in the other republics aren't especially rich. You might've earned enough for an apartment with great difficulty, worked here and there. Suddenly you have to leave or you feel like a second-class citizen.

Nationalism is, of course, making itself felt in many of the republics, with enormous force. Our human rights committee, to put it bluntly, is quite simply run off its feet. The Supreme Soviet, of course, is constantly debating these issues. I think that we and the government should take a tougher line regarding protection of our people, our people from Russia and especially ethnic Russians since there's more of them in the other republics. Just before the congress, we concluded a very interesting agreement, which for some reason has been overlooked by the press, on the creation of an interparliamentary assembly. So that deputies from various Commonwealth countries can discuss these issues, among others. It's more or less in the image of a Western European parliament, but, of course, only if we are capable of breathing life into the Commonwealth. We have to breathe life in it. I believe that the Commonwealth of our countries will develop and strengthen.

[Karaulov] Did you and Boris Nikolayevich become closer to each other after the congress?

[Khasbulatov] I don't think we were that far apart anyway. You know, we simply have different visions. I personally believe that attempts to impose various referenda on questions of personal interest are, first, unconstitutional and second, they divert us from our aim of achieving civic, intercommunal and political accord in our society. The deputies have displayed a clear and definite trend toward centrism. What does that mean politically? It means that the deputies are striving to achieve concord, that they're ready for it. This applies to people of differing outlooks. At the congress there weren't even 500 opposing the reforms, but there are various visions of these reforms. So, I think, the president's role now is especially great, in that he should be able to smooth out conflicts between various political forces, not by proposing, say, cracking down on anyone in particular and so forth, because you won't score points by doing that any more. This isn't 1989 or 1990. People want peace now, they want bread and food, they want their children to go to school. The teachers want to be properly provided for. [passage omitted]

Right now we shouldn't be playing politics but jointly drawing up serious policies to correct our grossest and most incredible mistakes. Of course, we've already sustained irreplaceable losses. So let's at least not make any more mistakes, let's work together with the parliament, let's recruit our country's best brains. We have so much talent. I often go travelling, I'll be going around the country again soon. I meet so many talented people who know what they're doing. To put it bluntly, they view what we're doing with regret, bitterness and semi-suspicion. [passage omitted]

'Cosmos' Satellites Launched From Plesetsk

LD0306120492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun—The artificial Earth satellites "Cosmos-2187", "Cosmos-2188, "Cosmos-2189", "Cosmos-2190", "Cosmos-2191", "Cosmos-2192", "Cosmos-2193", and "Cosmos-2194" were launched from Plesetsk Cosmodrome today. All eight satellites were put into orbit by a single "Cosmos" carrier-rocket. The satellites carry scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The motion of all eight satellites is in orbits close to those calculated with the following initial parameters:

Period of revolution	115.3 mins;
Apogee	1,506 km;
Perigree	1,444 km;
Orbital inclination	74 deg.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellites carry radio systems for the precise measurement of orbital elements and radiotelemetry systems for transmitting to Earth data about the the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellites is working normally.

Supreme Soviet

Council of Republic Approves Defense Law

LD0306123692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1153 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—The Council of the Republic of the Russian parliament today adopted in first reading the bill "On Defence". It lays down the principles of Russia's defence establishment, the rights and duties of government and administrative bodies, the rights of local self-government authorities, enterprises, institutions, organisations, officials and citizens in matters of national defence, the structure and organisation of the Russian Armed Forces and the responsibility for violating the Russian defence legislation.

Taking part in the discussion of the bill were members of the parliamentary defence and security committee, the legislative committee, the state legal department under the Russian president, the Supreme Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, the Ministries of Defence, Security, and Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation.

The fundamental provisions of the bill envisage, in particular, a division of functions between the Defence Ministry of Russia and the Russian general staff as bodies of state and military command of the republic's Armed Forces, a reduction of the Russian Armed Forces and their command personnel. They also envisage the establishment of reliable state and public control over defence spendings, development and production of weapons and military hardware with due account for the new economic conditions, restriction of public activities in the Armed Forces without infringing upon the rights and liberties of citizens.

Furthermore, according to Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary Defence Committee, who submitted the bill to the parliament, some deputies from the military establishment have moved to toughen political control over the Armed Forces, to restrict the president to the functions of head of state alone, to increase the number of leading posts in the Defence Ministry that could be held by civilians, to add separate articles to the bill on social guarantees to servicemen.

First Deputy Defence Minister of Russia Andrey Kokoshin, who took part in the deliberations, said the bill "provides a good foundation for further work on the Russian defence legislation". Speaking about civil defence, he said that a special body, charged with these matters, would shortly appear within the Defence Ministry.

Deputy Defense Minister Speaks

LD0306213392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1720 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Speech by Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin at a Russian Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 3 June; from the "Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed chairman! Esteemed deputies! Well, I must start by saying that Defense Minister Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev was indeed planning to be here, but a scheduled session of the Security Council, where he is reporting on several matters, did not allow him to attend. But joint work has been carried out with the defense and security committee. The minister worked directly with the leadership of that committee. He has made concrete remarks and suggestions with regard to the defense law. I think it is quite sufficient, the more so as the law is really being set forth by the defense and security committee, and not by the Defense Ministry, taking into account the development proposals that have been developed by the Defense Ministry.

I think several very substantive and significant remarks were expressed here. Aleksandr Ivanovich put forward a very substantive proposal saying that, generally, to some extent the law is geared toward conflicts of the type and sort we consider the most possible today. But here we have Article 23 that says we will have a special law in the Russian Federation on mobilization. Naturally, we will stipulate all these issues there. [sentence as heard] And now, within the framework of the Defense Ministry, there will be a special structure dealing with this issue. It is a very serious issue for our national economy, not just for the Defense Ministry. We have already started to work on it, which means revising the Defense Ministry's plan for industry and revising the whole system of preparing the country for war—the going over, as it were, to a normal and sensible principle in this field, without overworking the economy and society. But at the same time ensuring the country is prepared should the need arise and that the needs of the Defense Ministry are properly taken into account.

I think we already have certain guidelines if we talk about military policy and military doctrine. There have been appropriate decisions by the defense and security committee and decisions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. A number of points have been raised in speeches made by our president and the commander in chief. These points deal with, as it were, some sort of a military and political basis for doctrine and military policy. But of course, very serious work lies ahead. I mainly have to deal with the relationship between the Defense Ministry and defense industry, military orders, and plans for scientific, research, experimental, and design work. And here I, myself, so to speak, cannot really make headway without more or less clear-cut guidelines concerning both military doctrine and the structure and composition of the Armed Forces.

But we have our own work schedule. Within the limit of the authority given to the Defense Ministry, we are working on all these problems. A large conference at the General Staff academy ended recently. But this is not all that we are doing. I think we will be able, in the near future, to set forth our proposals and our perception of these problems, and submit them to the Supreme Soviet. But we are not expecting to have a final draft [okonchatelnoye oformleniye], so to speak. Perhaps one should not think that we are able to construct right away a clear-cut military doctrine, meticulously described in every detail. To a large extent it will be reflected in service regulations—temporary service regulations, obviously. It will be reflected in executive plans that are being formed, and plans for the deployment of troops. Naturally, all these are topics, perhaps, for discussion at the Supreme Soviet, and, of course, they are part of the military orders structure.

Hence, the military doctrine in all its component parts is a very large, I would say, formation. One should not think it is a mere piece of paper, so to speak, a list of some proposals that we have written down and that we will pursue. It is a very complicated structure. Of course, we will be constantly informing the Supreme Soviet and working, above all, with the defense and security committee in this direction. We will be grateful for any help in this field.

As for the draft law, we think that it—taking into account all the amendments, we have 12 main proposals and amendments that have been submitted to the Supreme Soviet through the committee and that have been signed by Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev—we think that this law itself is already a good basis for further work. It is badly needed by our Armed Forces so we can make headway in creating a normative basis for their work. Thank you.

Officials Interviewed

LD0306215492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Statements by Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's committee on defense and security, and Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today at their separate sessions, the chambers of the Russian Supreme Soviet have adopted, on its first reading, a draft defense law. Our correspondent Lyudmila Semina discusses this with Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's committee on defense and security, and Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin.

[Begin Stepashin recording] Today the principal goal is to preserve Russia's Armed Forces. There is the presidential decree on creating the Defense Ministry—it is being set up right now, only a few people are working there—then there is the decree on transferring the troops located in the Russian Federation and outside its borders to our jurisdiction. Therefore, it is of paramount importance for us today to preserve—through the draft law now being adopted in its first reading—the Armed Forces and the officers corps, especially areas like the Western and Northern Groups of Forces that are still combat-ready. Then, proceeding from the general concept of both military policy and military doctrine and the defense law—which will be adopted by then—we must move on to actual reform. This will include introducing a contract system of military service, reducing numbers, and so on. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Semina] What can be said today of our military doctrine, and what are we going to do next, Andrey Fedorovich?

[Kokoshin] At the moment, I believe we already have a general outline of our military policy and military doctrine. We have a more or less developed idea of what sort of Armed Forces we should have—they should be comparatively small but not cheap, efficient enough, but posing no threat to anyone. We have a fairly well-founded system of views—I think it has the support of a broad range of both military and civilian experts—on what kinds of conflicts we might be threatened with and what kind of Armed Forces Russia should have in order to cope with those conflicts and threats to Russia's security. It is clear that we are talking not of those gigantic wars for which the Soviet Union used to prepare for many decades. But we may be threatened with local conflicts and low-intensity conflicts, and the task of developing the military power adequate for this purpose—not too burdensome for society but at the same time effective and equipped with reliable, high-quality weapons—is now being actively worked on, including concrete details and calculations on actual weapons systems and modes of operations.

I believe that in the process of reducing the Armed Forces—which is inevitable, and is in fact already under way and proceeding quite rapidly—the material rewards to those serving in the Army should be increased; there should not be the gap that has developed between officers' salaries and salaries of professionals holding comparable positions at civilian institutions and enterprises. The Army should be provided with a social infrastructure, for which large investments will be required.

As a whole, we have orientated the structure of the military budget toward personnel, toward providing for the serviceman's most basic needs. Purchases of military equipment have sharply decreased—they are many times smaller than they used to be, and in some sectors they have been virtually reduced to zero. This is an example if we start discussing an economy of means. We shall have to survive, to a considerable extent, on the stocks of weapons and military equipment accumulated over recent years. [end recording]

Situation in North, South Ossetia Considered

OW0306195192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting behind closed doors Wednesday [3 June] the Russian parliament discussed the situations in North and South Ossetia.

IF [INTERFAX] learned that Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, speaking at the meeting, briefed the deputies on Wednesday's session of the Security Council on that issue. He also said that the Security Council intends to submit to the parliament next week its proposals on settling the situation in the region.

Speaking at the meeting were also Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Chairman of the parliamentary commission on national-state structure and ethnic relations Nikolay Medvedev told reporters that the parliament passed "a soft" resolution on the issue, consisting of one article. The resolution charges the Security Council with continuing work on settling the situation.

Medvedev also said that a set of measures being prepared by the Security Council will be coordinated with a delegation of the Georgian State Council which arrived in Moscow.

According to Medvedev, at the next stage parliamentarians and governments of Russia and Georgia will hold talks.

Political Solution Urged

LD0306193292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1813 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—The conflict in South Ossetia should be resolved through political means, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to this conclusion during today's closed session hearing of reports from vice-president of Russia, Aleksandr Rutskoy, foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, and defence minister, Pavel Grachev. People's deputies took note of the information submitted by Russian officials and entrusted the

Security Council of Russia to work out a complex of measures directd to stablise the situation in this region.

"These measures will be recommended to the Georgian side, and afterwards considered by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation," the chairman of the parliamentary Committee for National and State System and Interethnic Relations, Nikolay Medvedev told journalists after the session of the parliament. "Since the Security Council is a consultative body, recommendations which it will work out will be considered by governments and parliaments of Russia and Georgia," he added.

Nikolay Medvedev said that the "most urgent task is to relieve tension in the Caucasus region, but there is a strategical task as well. It is connected with the state of national minorities, including the protection of human rights," he said.

Speaker's Use of Supreme Soviet Fund Queried

PM0206202792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "Russian Central Bank Scandal Threatens Economic Reform"]

[Text] As has already been reported, this week the Russian parliament proposes to examine the activity of the Russian Central Bank. Perhaps deputies will at long last, for the first time in two years, be able to familiarize themselves with the real facts about the activity of the main credit and financial institution accountable to them. And receive answers to the questions that the resignation of Central Bank Chairman G. Matyukhin has by no means resolved.

From two articles devoted to the Central Bank (IZVESTIYA Nos 113 and 116), readers were able to see for themselves that very close relations had formed between the parliamentary speaker and the leadership of the Central Bank and that both sides reaped mutual advantages from this cooperation. As far as we can judge, the articles evoked a rather sensitive reaction in the White House. Characteristically, the interested parties reacted most sharply not to the various assertions by the author and the direct criticism of their actions, but to the entirely legitimate question: From what sources does R. Khasbulatov get the millions that he hands out during his trips around the Russian provinces?

We cannot fail to pay tribute to the coordination of the actions of parliament's leaders and the parliamentary press—this is evidently now becoming the norm. First of all, A. Pochinok, chairman of the parliamentary budget commission, tactfully answered this question. Then IZVESTIYA received a rebuke from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA: "We nevertheless have to disappoint the authors of these rumors. No Russian Watergate can be constructed out of these insinuations. The Supreme Soviet is granting assistance on a legal basis from the fund allocated to the Supreme Soviet, which parliament has the right to use as it sees fit, to oblasts that have found themselves in a disastrous position. It is hard to believe, incidentally, that IZVESTIYA does not know about this."

It is hard to believe, but as it turned out, even the parliamentarians themselves knew very little about the activity of the aforementioned fund. Some of them, as already reported, leveled accusations against the parliamentary speaker in the course of which it was conjectured that it is not so much parliament as the chairman himself making discretionary use of money from the fund. Once again there was a sensitive reaction, this time from N. Ryabov, speaker of the Soviet of the Republic: Money is being spent from the Supreme Soviet's Fund for Social Support for the Population, everything is lawful here, and everyone knows about it....

The only thing that is known about the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Fund for Social Support for the Population is that the Russian Law on the Russian Federation Budget System in the First Quarter of 1992 contains a line on the allocation of 1.5 billion rubles [R] from the budget for its creation.

But this line is certainly not enough to regard the fund as being in operation. Any fund can start operating only once its statutes and regulations are ratified and, finally, once its bank account is opened. That is how the Russian Government acted, incidentally, when creating the republic (federal) and territorial funds for social support for the population. However, it has been impossible to discover any similar documents concerning the parliamentary fund.

All this suggests that they simply do not exist. Moreover, this should not be regarded as a question of bureaucratic nit-picking: A statute on the fund are essential in order to determine its purpose—who exactly should be granted assistance, how, and in what cases. Otherwise the fund's resources, however great they may be, will disappear into thin air and will melt away without any noticeable effect, not to mention the arbitrary use of these resources according to political sympathies or expediency.

On the basis of documents which the editorial office has at its disposal, it can be concluded that on every occasion the money was allocated on the personal orders of the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. And, as a rule, the allocation of resources was connected with R. Khasbulatov's trips. It is evident from the documents that R908.4 million was spent this way. According to experts, in fact the figure was significantly higher. The recipients of the assistance are not in any doubt. The victims of natural disasters, small peoples, the sick, the poor. But it is impossible to name a region in Russia today where people do not need assistance. What is to happen to those who do not fall within the areas visited? The fund, as a collective organ, should work out its policy for granting social assistance, provide answers to these questions, and decide where the resources should most effectively be directed. Otherwise what happens is that a high-ranking leader, without being empowered to do this, hands out abundant charity as he sees fit at the state's expense, reaping personal political dividends from this.

I am writing this in anticipation of the seemingly inevitable accusations that I am hindering the parliamentary speaker in his charitable activity—helping the needy. You can help the needy this way only from your own pocket.

As for the vagueness concerning the fund's account, I fully allow that R. Khasbulatov might not have known that the Central Bank did not have the right to give him a single kopek if an account had not been opened. However, there is no doubt that G. Matyukhin and his colleagues were perfectly well aware of this simple fact. Maybe during the proposed parliamentary hearings deputies will manage to persuade the representatives of the Central Bank Board to tell them the account number of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Fund for Social Support for the Population and explain when and under what circumstances it was opened. If such an account does not exist, then they should inform them from which accounts money was taken to transfer to R. Khasbulatov. But in that case the supposition that the parliamentary speaker was not entirely fair when he accused G. Matyukhin of disloyalty and insubordination will be confirmed.

Filatov Voices Concern Over Yeltsin's Views

LD0106171492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Artemyev on speech by Russian Supreme Soviet First Deputy Chairman Sergey Filatov to conference of the parliamentary coalition of reforms in the White House, Moscow on 1 June; includes recorded segments of speech]

[Text] [Artemyev] The economic and political situation, the demonopolization of industry, and the reform of management of industrial enterprises were discussed at this conference. First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko, and State Committee for Property Chairman Anatoliy Chubays spoke. The topic of the speech by Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet was designated: On the strategy of the Supreme Soviet's activity for the next few months. However, Sergey Filatov spoke on a much broader spectrum of problems. He called first and foremost for setting up boards of trustees in television and radio broadcasting in order to avoid the monopolization of these mass media by public forces of any kind. Sergey Filatov went on to say:

[Filatov] You know, the president's viewpoint has recently changed, and whereas at the Congress of People's Deputies he voiced the firm intention to preserve the Congress and Supreme Soviet and to cooperate with parliament, in recent speeches, and no longer in just one but in many speeches, another idea can be heard: The idea of breaking up the Congress of People's Deputies and even perhaps, so to speak, the parliament as well. All in all, I think that at the Congress, it was his personal view that the president gave, because it was always a very firm view with him. And even with that entourage which the president had and which was constantly trying to bring him into conflict with the Supreme Soviet, it was quite a firm view. Evidently, the entourage has now taken the upper hand and I think that today it is not the president's personal viewpoint which prevails but rather the viewpoint of his entourage. This stance seems to me to be extremely dangerous for our society and extremely dangerous for the work which we are doing with the president.

[Artemyev] Concerning the immediate plans of the Supreme Soviet, Sergey Filatov said in part:

[Filatov] At this session we are to adopt three most important documents. Thus, the first group of these documents concerns economic reform, including a state program and law on privatization, on bankruptcy. The second group of issues concerns military laws. You will know that we have nothing other than the law on security. So three or four laws have just been prepared on the armed forces, which we will have to examine and adopt this month. And the third is undoubtedly a very major issue. I do not know who is to give the report, Boris Nikolayevich or Gaydar. This is on the program of economic reform, namely the clarified program produced by the government at the decision of the Congress. Only, it will be produced by 15 June rather than 15 May; a month late. However, there will be such a program, and I think that we too will need to study it carefully and to voice some quite firm stance, so to speak, on this issue during its discussion.

[Artemyev] That was the viewpoint of Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. The conference of the parliamentary coalition of reforms is expected to continue work on Tuesday [2 June].

Republic Council Adopts Ethnic Minorities Law

LD0306125192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1146 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Russian parliamentary chamber, the Council of the Republic, adopted the first reading of the draft law on ethnic minorities on Wednesday [3 June]. According to the draft law, ethnic minorities with population less than 50 thousand people will receive rights of ownership of land, natural resources and protection of their dwelling areas.

Parliament Chamber Approves Languages Concept

LD0306140292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1350 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—Today's meeting of the Russian parliament's Chamber of Nationalities approved the draft "Concept for a State Programme to Preserve and Develop the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation". Now it is to be studied in the constituent republics, territories, regions and districts of the Federation. Then the draft will be finalised and incorporated into a legislative act, called upon to preserve and develop all the languages of the peoples of Russia. An Institute of the Languages of Russia shall be set up for this purpose for the first time in the history of the Russian state.

It was noted during the deliberations that in present-day conditions it is most important to resolve all problems linked with the social and cultural status of the languages of Russia's peoples, with the expansion of their range of use. This calls for a fundamentally new linguistic policy and, above all, for the creation of really favourable conditions for the free development of the languages of all the nations inhabiting Russia. Some deputies have stressed that the future state programme should devote particular attention to the preservation and development of the languages of small nations.

Regional Affairs

N. Ossetians Threaten To Take Over Own Defense

PM0406103792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jun 92 p 1

[Report by Major S. Knyazkov: "Lifting of Blockade on Georgia Military Highway Delayed. Ossetians Ready To Defend Themselves...with Weapons Captured from Army"]

[Text] On 1 June the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Presidium canceled the session of parliament scheduled for Tuesday [2 June], which was to examine the appeals of Georgia and Armenia to lift the blockade of the Georgian Military Highway and resume gas supplies to the Transcaucasus.

Akhsarbek Galazov, head of parliament, declared in this connection that the session's cancelation was occasioned by the upcoming conference with Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and the Russian Federation Security Council session, at which the situation in North and South Ossetia will be discussed.

Yuriy Biragov, first deputy chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, said in a special statement for RIA that the center must ensure the safety of all Russian Federation citizens. Unless the Russian leadership takes very decisive steps to extinguish the flames of war which have been blazing on Russia's southern borders for more than two years, Biragov pointed out, under these conditions we will have no choice but to annul the Federation Treaty and defend ourselves.

The Ossetian side seems to be moving away from words toward action. Our correspondent Colonel A. Borovkov reports that in Vladikavkaz during the night of 29-30 May five unknown persons, dressed "Afghan-style" and armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles, burst into the barracks of the motorized rifle battalion commanded by Major O. Toboyev. The attackers succeeded in capturing 19 assault rifles with bayonets, three antitank hand grenades, three Kalashnikov light machine guns, a sniper rifle, and 89 magazines.

The military leadership does not conceal its concern at this course of events. On 31 May Col. General Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcausasus Military District, visited the combat engineer regiment in Tskhinvali, from whose location gunmen had stolen a considerable quantity of automotive equipment.

The district command has issued an appeal to the Ossetian people to prevent the thefts and to stop the situation from worsening.

Secession Threat, Military Aid Viewed

MK2905145392 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 May 92 p 3

[Igor Terekhov report under "North Ossetia" rubric: "Vladikavkaz Demands That Moscow Send Troops Into South Ossetia and Threatens To Leave Russian Federation"]

[Text] There was a joint session of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers presidiums in Vladikavkaz 27 May. It was attended by members of the Russian parliamentary commission headed by Nikolay Medvedev, chairman of the Interethnic Relations Commission and the Council of Nationalities of the Russian Supreme Soviet. As Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, reported—citing the republic's Security Ministry—the Georgian side is planning to storm Tskhinval in the next few days.

Addressing the session, Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, stated that unless the Russian leadership takes measures to achieve a cease-fire in South Ossetia, North Ossetia will be forced to annul the Federation Treaty and take the measures, as he put it, "which fate has in store for us." Khetagurov proposed that the Russian parliament be given two days to reflect and that an extraordinary session of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet should then be convened.

Yuriy Koniyev, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Legislation Commission, suggested that a joint session of the South and North Ossetian Supreme

Soviets be convened either in Vladikavkaz or Tskhinvali, where, in his opinion, the Republic of South Ossetia should be recognized and a demand issued to the Russian Government that it send in internal troops. In Koniyev's opinion, the Russian army's property on North Ossetian territory should be nationalized.

Akhsarbek Galazov supported the idea of convening a joint session of the two parliaments. According to members of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, the session could proclaim the independent state of Alaniya uniting the peoples of the south and the north and also announce the scrapping of the Federation Treaty with Russia and the creation of their own armed forces. Galazov remarked that North Ossetia is now the only bridgehead on the southern borders of Russia which could be used by the army and the air force to preserve Russian influence in the region. He also remarked that in the event of a threat North Ossetia could provide refuge for the Russian population of the Caucasus. By settling South Ossetia's problems today the Russian leadership will protect Russia and reinforce the southern borders, he stressed. The head of parliament stated that the time for producing documents was over—now it is time for action, and unless the Russian leadership does act Ossetia will be forced against its will to leave the Russian Federation.

The joint sesson of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers presidiums adopted a resolution which says that unless effective measures are taken in the next few days to protect South Ossetia, there will be a joint session of the North and South Ossetian parliaments which will raise the question of proclaiming the republic of Alaniya.

This resolution has been presented to the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium delegation headed by Nikolay Medvedev.

A Republic of Georgia delegation headed by Vice Premier Aleksandr Kavsadze arrived in Vladikavkaz that same day. The Georgian delegation members denied the report that Tskhinval is going to be stormed in the next few days.

Dagestan State of Emergency Called 'Justified'

LD0306163192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Video report by D. Beybutov on the state of emergency in Dagestan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The fact that in this mountainous region a certain part of the population has various kinds of weapons is an incontestable fact. This is borne out by the firearms—both factory-made and home-made—ammunition, and explosives that arrive daily at the technical department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Their seizure, the struggle with organized crime, and, as a whole, the improvement and stabilization of the social and political situation in the republic is the main aim of the introduction, for one month, of a state of emergency in Markhachkala and Kizilyurt.

Half this time has passed. Is this measure justified, and what is the state of emergency costing?

[Begin V.Ye. Beyev, first deputy minister of the Republic of Dagestan, recording] I would say unequivocally that, yes, the introduction of the state of emergency is justified, and, although this is an extreme measure, it is an enforced measure.

In 13 days, 273 lawbreakers have been arrested in the state of emergency region, and 30 wanted criminals, and about ten criminal groups, have been arrested. [end recording] [video shows assortment of weapons being examined by militiamen, roadblocks]

Khasbulatov Visit to Kaliningrad Assessed

LD0206230692

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1455 GMT on 2 June broadcasts a 15-minute video report entitled "The working visit of Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman R. I. Khasbulatov to Kaliningrad Oblast," presented by Russian Federation Peoples' Deputy Rasul Mikhailov.

The program begins with shots of Khasbulatov talking to a group of working women, one of whom complains that the president does not seem to keep his promises. Khasbulatov apologizes for not coming as a bearer of glad tidings. Khasbulatov is then shown attending the meeting at the vegetable growing combine sitting beneath a portrait of Lenin at the podium in the conference hall. A segment of his speech is shown. Khasbulatov says:

"Unfortunately, those questions that you are now raising I have been concerned with since mid-January. Originally I was discussing agriculture, saying we are on the road to a disaster. Particularly when certain decisions to artificially dismember the collective and state farms and immediately create private farmers' enterprises in their place are adopted.

"Incidentally, the president promptly agreed with us. He too understands that we should not force the reorganization of the collective and state farms in the same way as was done at the time of their creation. We should not repeat forcible collectivization or 'state farmization'—whatever one calls it. In the same manner we should not undertake 'farmerization' by force, particularly when the necessary conditions for this are absent."

Khasbulatov is then shown visiting the Kaliningrad fishery production association offices and attending their management meeting. Mikhailov then introduces the other important item on Khasbulatov's agenda—the visit to the Baltic Fleet naval base in Baltiysk. He interviews Colonel General V.I. Mironov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces. Mironov says:

"I see now that it is not possible to view the problem of troop withdrawals from the territory of the Baltic republics from only one angle, namely the resettlement of the warrant officers, officers, and families in new locations. The personal and logistic problems are very important, and they demand massive material and financial resources as well as time for its solution. However, I do not see this as the main problem.

"The main problem as I see it is that the aura of military and political stability has been broken. The strategic area itself in this region has been broken. That is why I believe security questions in this region, not strictly for Russia but also for the Baltic States, should be paramount. We should be conducting the negotiation process from these positions.

"Second, we should not forget that for a long period in history, probably since the North War, we have been living in a single economic area. First within the Russian Empire, then within the USSR. To neglect discussing all of our economic interrelations in the course of these negotiations would be complete nonsense. Moreover, if we are to look at the industrial geography we can see that historically it has so happened in the former USSR that the main production areas were concentrated in the northwestern and central oblasts of Russia.

"Finally, there are our own problems related to our stay and our withdrawal. In my understanding, each serviceman in this case has a notion of the leadership within the country. This means we need a state program, and in the higher echelons of Russia they probably should decide on the aims which they want to achieve here, the problems which they should solve, and the proposed methodology. After this the process can move forward in a more stable and efficient way. I believe people with the proved knowledge and abilities to defend Russia's interests should be involved in this."

Khasbulatov is then shown inspecting the honor guard at one of the naval ships and greeting the navy seamen.

"I am glad to visit you here on your ship," Khasbulatov says, adding: "I have met your commanders today and talked a lot about the work of our Russian leadership and the Supreme Soviet. I would like to say, without making this into a long speech, that we understand very well the rather difficult circumstances and conditions in which you are living here. I assure you that the Russian parliament and the president will naturally take specific measures and act decisively to protect the interests of our Russian state here on the Baltic, and protect the interests and the future of each of our soldiers who are guarding our state interests and defending our Fatherland."

Khasbulatov is then shown being interviewed by Mikhailov regarding his views on the future of the region. The interview goes as follows:

[Mikhailov] "Ruslan Imranovich, the Kaliningrad oblast is somehow separated from Russia not only by distance but also due to the nature of its borders, which are not adjacent to the main territory of Russia. This is the basis of the fear—you remember when they were saying at the meetings that it is something of a cut-off from Russia, out of Moscow's reach."

[Khasbulatov] "You have heard me talking and I think that, psychologically, such feelings of being cut off should be overcome, quite clearly and unambiguously. We should once and for all end any doubts about the oblast passing into some other hands and so on. This is our Russian oblast, the westernmost Russian oblast. The other matter is that considering its specific characteristics we should probably think about a serious upgrading of its status in the nearest future so the local authorities may make sufficiently serious decisions regarding their interactions with close neighbors as well as their industrial development. We should probably be speeding up the implementation of the provision on the special free economic zone in full. This is simply necessary.

"Moreover, we should probably emphasize the need for considerable broadening of the consumer sector of the economy. At the same time this is a naval sea port and sufficiently large funds should be invested here to support our servicemen, our defense industry connected with servicing of the navy fleet, and the corresponding infrastructure. They have already reached a certain tragicomic, farcical state. Here we have a ship, completely ready and registered with the Pacific Fleet, fully equipped and manned by the excellently trained staff, which is standing idle. You see, it turns out that the government cannot allocate funds for the toll payment to pass through the Suez Canal. This is simply an intolerable situation."

The report ends with Kaliningrad Oblast Administration Chairman Y. Matochkin discussing the prospects for development of the fishing industry and tourism in the area. He also expresses satisfaction with Khasbulatov's visit.

'Major West-East Trade Bridge' Set Up

PM0206111792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 92 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Future Belongs to Cooperation. Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Concludes Working Trip to Kaliningrad Oblast"]

[Text] "Russia is not a long way off, it is here. This is Russia," Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet, said during his stay in Kaliningrad Oblast. The program of his three-day familiarization with the socioeconomic life of the region included visits to industrial and agricultural enterprises and meetings and conversations with leaders and deputies of local soviets, economic planners and entrepreneurs, collective farm workers and private farmers, representatives of the intelligentsia, servicemen, and Baltic Fleet sailors. At practically all the meetings the people of Kaliningrad Oblast asked the head of parliament what they consider the chief question: the future of this land of plenty. Will it acquire a special legal and economic status, as the oblast soviet and the region's sociopolitical organizations insist, or will every step in the market transformation of the economy still have to be agreed with numerous Moscow bodies? Will the "Yantar" [Amber] free economic zone be created on its territory, as promised, or will the already empty state budget take on its full maintenance?

Ruslan Khasbulatov said in reply that Kaliningrad Oblast was and will be Russian, and all its neighbors near and far must take this into account when formulating their policy toward it. "We stand for international cooperation in the region's social and economic development," the speaker of parliament emphasized, "and we will promote the creation of a propitious milieu to attract investments both from the Baltic states and the Baltic region and from Ukraine, Byelarus, and other CIS countries with an interest in organizing a major West-East trade bridge here." But, despite financial difficulties, Russia also intends to invest sizable funds here, mindful both of the oblast's remoteness and of its really special geopolitical position.

But the people of Kaliningrad Oblast themselves also have a lot to do, the Supreme Soviet chairman said. For this it is necessary to expand the oblast's rights considerably—they must be greater than those accorded to the territory by the Federation Treaty and the statute on the "Yantar" free economic zone. The Supreme Soviet Presidium or the government will evidently be adopting a special resolution on this in the very near future.

While in Kaliningrad Oblast, the head of parliament also spoke about the Russian leadership's negative assessment of the policy of strong-arm pressure and ultimatums being applied in the neighboring Baltic countries to the army and navy subunits stationed there. All disputed issues and contradictions must be resolved in a civilized manner, Ruslan Khasbulatov said, on the basis of mutually acceptable accords and the norms of international law and with due regard for Russia's strategic interests in the Baltic.

The Supreme Soviet chairman familiarized himself with a resort complex in the land of amber and visited the "Kurshskaya Kosa" national state park. Then Ruslan Khasbulatov left Kaliningrad for Moscow.

Rutskoy Outlines Land Reform Plan for Don

PM2705114092 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 May 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Vadim Ogurtsov: "Aleksandr Rutskoy's Don Trip: The Key to Land Reform"]

[Text] Rostov Oblast—The main aim of the trip, as the high-ranking guest himself explained to the press at Rostov airport, is to prepare for the creation of an agrocorporation, whose founders will apparently be several rayons on the Don, as well as Tyumen Oblast, and also entrepreneurs from Israel who have an interest in Siberian raw materials, timber, and fuel resources. The Near East will only be able to get hold of these things if it invests capital in the processing of agricultural products from the Don.

"It is a question of a formula for boosting the agriculture of the whole of southern Russia. Foreign investments will promote the development of its infrastructure," the vice president said. "If we scatter those investments all over Russia, we will not be able to resolve the problem of supplying the republic with food. The main hope rests with the Don, the Kuban, and Stavropol, as well as Belgorod, Orel, Kursk, and Tambov Oblasts. This is our granary, capable of feeding the whole of Russia. In order to raise its infrastructure to world standards, we must invest some $30 billion in these oblasts. And although the northerners are annoyed with me, saying that their infrastructure has been lagging behind for a long time, it will be necessary to invest two or three times more than that in the north. So we must start here, in the south. If we can feed Russia, it will be easier to tackle the rest of our problems."

Early Sunday morning the helicopters set a course for the south, where business talks concerning the future corporation have begun in Salsk. Representatives of Israeli business circles are also taking part.

One can hardly disagree with A. Rutskoy's logic:

"Our legislation allows all forms of economic management. If, say, communal economic management meets all the region's needs, then let it remain so. If it is not suitable, let there be other forms...In principle a joint-stock corporation is also communal in nature: Every employee has his own shares. That is, he has title to part of the property, and that title is enshrined in securities. Then all this can be transformed into any other form of ownership—whatever is most competitive."

In Salsk the high-ranking guest and experts expounded to local leaders the blueprint for the organization of the agrocorporation. It is not ruled out that it could prove versatile—suitable for transformations in industry too. This is what it boils down to.

We have never had land management as such. Because there was never a right of ownership of land. Can Salskiy Rayon, say, attract foreign and domestic investments and credits? Only with the consent and guarantee of the oblast, which in turn must ask the republic government for corresponding guarantees. This "manna from heaven" is even further out of the reach of a sovkhoz. Not to mention a private farmer. All of them lack protection against local tyranny. Yet the right of ownership should be secure. It could be protected not only by a signed and sealed document which, as a rule, becomes "invalid" with the advent of new bosses, but by international law, which makes provision for a market in securities and certificates. If we are building a rule-of-law state, we should start here. The land belongs to the state, and the state can delegate the right of ownership to the individual and the collective in various ways. But experience in a great many other states shows that the system operates more reliably when the individual or collective wishing to acquire land can go to a certain institution, pay some money, sign a contract, and become the lessee, and subsequently, after settling up, obtain ownership of the land.

If this system is to be applied to our situation, first it will be necessary to make a rigorous inventory, which will divide the land into land suitable for agricultural production and land suitable only for industrial or civil construction. And after that, in accordance with the land survey valuation, to create a Land Bank, with branches down to rayon level. This bank will then issue certificates to landowners, registering their title to the land.

"If we hand over, free of charge, 70 percent of agricultural and 'technical' land, forest, and water areas," Rutskoy explained, with the help of chalk and a blackboard, "we can sell the remaining 30 percent to those who want it. For purchase by installments, or on a lease. That will bring in more than 10 trillion rubles."

And when the Supreme Soviet finally adopts a law on mortgages, any owner of a certificate will have the opportunity to attract investment. Hand it over to the bank and receive money, but bear in mind how dangerous any negligence on your part will be in future: You could lose the land. The local authority and you yourselves will decide what kind of tenure it should be—communal or private. The Land Bank only gives titles and issues securities which can be distributed to people, and how those people decide to manage their affairs—collectively or individually—is up to them.

As for agrocorporations, they will concern themselves with the production, processing, transportation, and sale of output. They are very interested in foreign investments. How can these be attracted? The following system is emerging: 30 percent of the shares go to foreign capital, used for the development of the latest technologies and social infrastructures. Another 30 percent go to the agricultural region, with its real estate. Another 30 percent go to the industrial regions of northern Russia (in our case, Tyumen Oblast). And 10 percent to the International Financial Fund, which if necessary will be able to insure the corporation by providing credits. In other words, a controlling share—70 percent—stays in Russia.

But what is going to make foreigners invest money, when even now they do not want our agricultural products? They are more likely to want fuel and energy resources, only they will not be able to buy them direct from the Tyumen north any more—but indirectly, yes, fine.

"And relations are formed in this manner," Rutskoy explained. "They invest their dollars in the development of agriculture in Salskiy Rayon and three or four other rayons in the oblast. As for the 30 percent of the food that is theirs under the contract, they hand it over to the northerners, and Tyumen then gets 60 percent of the agricultural products grown in the Don. And it is more advantageous to the country people not just to take home the money from the sale of such quantities of food, but to invest it in the development of the oil fields. And the International Financial Fund will doubtless also not refuse to exchange its food for oil, especially since a substantial influx of currency could also result in a sharp increase in the return on the land: fivefold or sixfold."

The participants in the conference discussed all aspects of this proposal.

International Affairs

Foreign Ministry Issues Note on USSR Property

LD0306223792 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] According to the information department of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, the ministry has sent a note to the foreign ministries of foreign countries on the issue of property of the former USSR located in those states.

The note, in particular, says: "The documents of the Commonwealth of Independent States state that the USSR has ceased to exist as a subject of international law and in geopolitical reality, which resulted in the formation of a number of new independent states, each of them being, in accordance with the principles and norms of international law, a legal successor to the former USSR in relation to its treaties, all property, state debts, and archives. This has also been confirmed in the corresponding CIS agreement.

"At the present time, one of the questions concerning the property of the former USSR abroad—to which a just share all the states, legal successors of the former USSR, are entitled—is being considered within the framework of the CIS. A commission consisting of representatives of all the member states of the CIS has been set up to resolve this question.

"In connection with this, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry appeals to the foreign ministries of the appropriate countries to assist in preserving the state property of the former USSR and the property of all-Union nongovernmental organizations and legal persons (personal property and real estate, letters of credit) located in the appropriate states, and also to prevent any attempts of changing the status of that property and violating its safety until a final decision on its division is made and the legal successor states come into possession of that property."

Freezing of Russian Capital Requested

LD0306161792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Ukraine has demanded that all governments freeze Russian capital that is abroad. In the opinion of a Radio France International correspondent, this move was caused by concern over the fair division of the former USSR's assets.

Parliament Focuses on Relations With Russia

LD0306121392 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Today Ukraine's parliament resumed its work in Kiev. Here's a report about today's sitting. The MPs [members of parliament] discussed the agenda for this week and forwarded a whole number of urgent issues to be discussed, but no matter what issue was offered it was viewed in the light of Ukrainian-Russian relations. No wonder that today the MPs devoted most of their time to giving their assessment of the decisions taken by the parliament of Russia in relation to the Crimea, but before that the deputies insisted that the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, Vadym Hetman, reported about his activity.

Vadym Hetman again confirmed that the National Bank of Russia treats Ukraine with bias and even hostility. It does not pay debts to a whole number of enterprises in Ukraine. However, the MPs representing the leadership of enterprises did not agree with the stand of the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine and also with the stand of the president and the government of the republic. They accused them of an attempt to disrupt economic ties with Russia. President Leonid Kravchuk was therefore obliged to join the polemic. As a result, a resolution was passed which allowed the National Bank of Ukraine to work more efficiently in implementing reforms, withdrawing from the ruble zone in particular.

After that the deputies got down to considering the issue on the assessment of the decisions taken by the parliament of Russia in relation to the Crimea. First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine Vasil Durdynets unambiguously qualified the actions of the Russian parliament as interference into the domestic affairs of independent state [as heard]. He also informed the deputies in detail about the steps taken by the parliament of Ukraine to settle the situation. [passage omitted]

Vasil Durdynets said that such a stand of the Russian parliament openly contradicts the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. The documents adopted by the parliament of Russia on the 21st and 22d of May this year are nothing but an evidence of unwillingness of the highest legislative body of Russia to abide by the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, according to which all the countries participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe regard their borders and the borders of other European countries as inviolable. The actions of the Russian parliament must be assessed as detrimental to good-neighborly relations between Ukraine and Russia, and as such do not promote mutual understanding and trust and undermine universal peace and security in Europe. The first deputy chairman of Ukraine's parliament indicated that the parliament of Russia violated seven out of the 10 principles of the Helsinki agreements.

Then Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko made a report in which he expressed his regret about the fact that the first interstate crisis involved Ukraine's long-standing partner and neighbor, Russia. The Crimean issue for Ukraine is its internal problem, therefore Ukraine is not going to discuss it with either Russia or any other country, said Anatoliy Zlenko. But according to Ukraine's foreign minister, the Crimean issue is only a pretext while the underlying reason for the aggravation of relations is unwillingness of certain poltical forces and certain leaders of Russia to recognize Ukraine as an independent state, which has a political reality. In his speech, Anatoliy Zlenko also underlined that Ukraine's actions in relation to the Crimea are supported in the West.

The minister dwelled on the historical aspects of the issue and analyzed the actions of Russia in relation to the Crimea and other territories. Today these actions can be qualified only as such that ignite interethnic hostilities, said the Foreign Minister of Ukraine Anatoliy Zlenko.

Further on the deputies passed a resolution which reflects the stand of the highest legislative body of Ukraine in relation to illegitimate actions of Russia's parliament. Ukrainian MPs stated that the decisions of the Russian parliament concerning the Crimea are nothing but interference into the domestic affairs of Ukraine. These decisions are detrimental to good-neighborly relations and friendship between the two countries.

With this, today's sitting of Ukraine's parliament came to an end. Tomorrow, the 3d June, the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine will continue its work in Kiev.

'Top Secret' Russian Policy Document Published

LD0306142692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It seems that Russia's relations with certain CIS partners are beginning to deteriorate seriously. "How Russia relates to us" was the headline of an article under the rubric "Top Secret" which appeared in an issue of VECHERNIY KIYEV [Evening Kiev]. Its authors claim that the editorial office received a copy of a secret document of four Russian policy options with regard to Ukraine. According to the newspaper report, the document has had a limited circulation among the Russian leadership.

Two quotes: Russian policy can be directed at the limitation of the economic growth and economic independence of the Ukraine where this can be done without damage to Russian interests. In politics and diplomacy one should cautiously strive for maximum possible isolation of Ukraine and limitation of its political influence and opportunity to obtain aid. And another quote: If the opportunity presents itself, one should expose the most frenzied Ukrainian figures to the fire of international criticism, creating the image of an authoritarian communist, neo-communist regime. It is hardly worth being excessively accommodating in granting embassy premises to Ukraine, linking this question with other contentious issues.

This article has provoked a backwash of Russophobic sentiment in the republic. However, the authenticity of the copy of the document gives rise to certain doubts. But, nonetheless, Ukrainian Presisdent Kravchuk is optimistic regarding the prospects for the forthcoming talks with Yeltsin. Speaking at the parliament session, he declared that in the course of the presidents' summit the signing not only of economic agreements, but also documents on political cooperation, is expected.

Official Assesses Near Eastern Diplomacy

AU0406105192 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Briefing by Viktor Nahaychuk, head of the Near and Middle East and Africa department of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Ministry on 2 June; recorded]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Now about Ukraine's policy in the Near East. Viktor Nahaychuk, head of the Near and Middle East and Africa Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will discuss it in more detail.

[Begin Nahaychuk recording] In my opinion, there is a certain underestimation of the importance of this region for Ukraine's future development, but I am sure that, for Ukraine, this is one of the most promising and important regions. Why? First of all, this is a geographically strategic area, which is situated in the immediate vicinity of Ukraine's southern borders. I would say that this is one of the nerve-centers in world's affairs.

Speaking about the Near East proper, it is a huge territory on which 18 states are situated with a population exceeding 200 million people. As you know, these countries have rich natural resources. Some of them have advanced economies and so on.

In is not accidental that, over a long period of time, the Near East has been occupying a major place in the policy of the United States, which has always been active in this region, as well as in the policy of Western European states and Japan. At present, one can see Russia's heightened diplomatic activity in this region.

What can we now consider to be our disadvantage? The fact that we are starting our bilateral diplomacy in this region virtually from zero. We do not have any experience of direct bilateral ties with these countries. Second, we do not have any diplomatic or consular missions in this region. This considerably complicates our tasks.

However, we do have some assets. This is the experience of multilateral diplomacy with regard to these countries. Over decades, we have taken an active part in discussing the problems of settlement in the Near East, the question of Palestine, and the situation in the Near East within the framework of the United Nations and other international organizations.

We have already established good contacts with Arab countries. Second, I would say that the attitude on the part of the Near Eastern countries toward Ukraine is unbiased. In our numerous contacts with representatives of Arab countries, the countries of the Middle East, Israel, we feel a good attitude toward Ukraine, a striving to develop ties, based upon genuine partnership, with Ukraine and a desire to see Ukraine active in this region [end recording].

[Announcer] With regard to this region, let me add in conclusion that, as of today, Ukraine has established diplomatic relations with six Arab countries. Also, the Iranian Embassy is already functioning in Kiev.

Zlenko, Moldova's Tiu Discuss Relations

LD0406115192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1024 GMT 4 Jun 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Trotsenko for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 4 Jun—Foreign Ministers Anatoliy Zlenko and Nicolae Tiu, of Ukraine and Moldova respectively, held a meeting here today. They discussed the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral relations and touched on individual topical problems in the current international situation.

The ministers devoted special attention to searching for ways to settle the crisis situation on the left bank of the Republic of Moldova. It was stressed that this needs to be achieved by peaceful means, on the basis of accords between the foreign ministers of the four countries, and in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and the basic CSCE documents.

The sides agreed that Ukrainian-Moldovan relations are a substantial factor of regional stability. Their all-round, mutually advantageous development will be not only in the interests of the two countries and their peoples but also security on the continent as a whole. In this context, the ministers advocated the signing of an interstate treaty in the near future.

An accord was also reached on stepping up bilateral cooperaton within the framework of the United Nations, the CSCE, the Council of North Atlantic Cooperation, and other international organizations.

The talks took place in a friendly, frank atmosphere, according to both sides.

National Affairs

Ukraine, Crimea Said Ready For Compromise

PM0406095792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Viktor Filippov report: "Ukrainian and Crimean Authorities Prepared for Mutual Compromise"]

[Text] Republic of Crimea, 2 Jun—The Crimean problem will evidently be resolved peacefully. At their 1 June meeting in Yalta, the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea expressed their readiness to make mutual compromises.

Journalists were not allowed into this meeting. And so, for the moment it remains a secret how the high parliamentary parties, which were previously not very favorably disposed to one another, were able to find a common language. Nevertheless this did happen, and may even become the norm in relations between Kiev and Simferopol, naturally on condition that the Supreme Soviets support their Presidiums' opinion which is enshrined in their joint statement.

Judging by this document, the Crimean authorities have given up the attempt to declare the peninsula's political independence, while Kiev, in its turn, has agreed to let the Republic of Crimea, while remaining part of Ukraine, to nevertheless have the political and legal conditions that would enable it to realize the potential it has due to its geographic position. The peninsula's economy is seen as open to foreign investments, and the peninsula itself as a zone of economic and cultural cooperation. Furthermore, according to the contracting parties, Crimea should have the right to autonomous relations with other states in the socioeconomic and cultural spheres.

At their meeting in Yalta, the Ukrainian and Crimean authorities decided to continue talks on the delimitation of powers. This task will be assigned to a joint working group which they intend to form before 5 June. The Presidiums of both Supreme Soviets stressed that they are prepared to resolve controversial questions by means of mutual compromises alone, and they appealed to all political parties and movements to refrain from acts that could strain relations.

Plyushch on Crimean Status

PM0306170992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 92 First Edition p 7

[Report by Vyacheslav Lebedev: "Plyushch Likes Yalta"]

[Text] At the very start of the meeting [with Crimean Supreme Soviet Presidium], Ukrainian parliament chairman I. Plyushch stated that Ukraine will not allow the existence of statehood on the peninsula. It cannot be the subject of international law, the owner of land and subterranean resources, have an independent banking and credit system, or an army or national guard. At the same time the speaker agreed to the creation of a free economic zone and even the right to conclude international economic treaties. Touching on the Black Sea Fleet, the Supreme Soviet chairman noted that its status in Ukraine today is the same as that of the 14th army in the Dniester region or the CIS troops in the Baltic. But soon the fleet will pass entirely to Ukraine. What did Crimean Supreme Soviet Chairman N. Bagrov have to say in reply to this statement? In fact he went back on his word and agreed in full with his senior colleague.

Then all journalists were asked to leave. Because of this we had the opportunity to talk with the Yalta people who had gathered with posters outside the city soviet executive committee building. The inhabitants of the resort city chanted: "Freedom for Crimea!", "We want a referendum!", "Hands off Crimea!" The meeting, in the opinion of most of those assembled and of many local deputies was empty, to put it mildly. And, what is sad, they felt it did not provide an opportunity for emerging from the impasse. Yet people here remember the speech delivered by Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk, who asked the Crimeans to adopt their own constitution as rapidly as possible. He said that they could thus satisfy their desire for independence. When the constitution was adopted, the president turned his back on it, demanding a thorough revision. In general people here noted that official guests from Kiev have always been generous in promises. On the other hand, Crimeans are constantly greeted with reprimands

After the end of the meeting I. Plyushch stated that the Yalta discussions should be turned into a tradition. Evidently the Supreme Soviet chairman was very taken with the pearl of the peninsula.

Crimean Group Holds Constituent Congress

LD0106061292 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 31 May 92

[Text] The Constituent Congress of the All-Crimean electors' association for public peace and interethnic accord took place in Simferopol yesterday. Congress delegates adopted a statute in which they name stabilizing the situation in the Crimea and uniting the peoples of the peninsula in an indissoluble unity with Ukraine as their goal. The congress condemned the resolution of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet of 21 May, 1992 on the legal assessment of the 1954 acts as a violation of international agreements and existing treaties between Ukraine and Russia.

Delegates considered holding the referendum with the Republican Movement of the Crimea wording to be an illegal act which can lead to events similar to those happening in Dniester today. The congress demands the resignation of Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimea, because he did not ensure the legal leadership of parliament.

An appeal to the mass media of Ukraine, Russia and the Republic of the Crimea was also adopted, with a call to show restraint when assessing events in and around the Crimea and to strictly cover events exactly and legally.

Crimean Movement Leaders Under Legal Scrutiny

PM0406114892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jun 92 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report: "Crimean Republican Movement Under Suspicion"]

[Text] A staffer of the Ukrainian Prosecutor's Office public oversight administration, who has arrived in Simferopol, has demanded from the executive committee of the Crimean Republican Movement a list of the organization's coordinating council and information about its activities.

The Crimean Republican Movement executive committee, deeming this demand unlawful, refused to comply.

New Council To Organize Powerful Opposition

MK0206155092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 92 p 3

[NEGA column report: "Ukraine"]

[Text] The Democratic Party of Ukraine organized the formation of the Council of National-Democratic Public Organizations in Lvov 31 May. The organizers think that the new council should help consolidate democratic forces, develop political culture, and promote civilized dialogue with the authorities. Local organizations of People's Rukh, the "Prosvita" Society, and the Ukrainian Republic Party have already expressed a desire to join the Lvov National Democratic Council.

This event may quite easily be seen as the start of these organizations' joining together to form a Republic National Democratic Party. At any rate Nikolay Porovskiy, deputy chairman of the Rukh faction in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent that many people in Rukh, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Republic Party see nothing to prevent their joining together and forming a mighty opposition party to counter President Leonid Kravchuk's party. This idea is resisted by the most influential of Rukh's cochairmen, Vyacheslav Chornovil, who favors a nonparty organization. Another cochairman, Mikhail Goryn, agrees. Ivan Drach has not so far voiced his opinion on this.

Prime Minister's Possible Resignation Viewed

MK0206160092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 92 p 3

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "Ukraine" rubric: "Ukrainian Prime Minister May Resign. What Will Happen Then?"]

[Text] At the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session which resumes its work today Prime Minister Vitold Fokin will most likely once again encounter considerable difficulties. Some commentators even think that the future of his cabinet may be decided at this time, the prime minister having already been asked to resign so many times... Be that as it may, Rukh, where one of the cochairmen, Vyacheslav Chornovil, is coming close to exercising personal control, is ready to transfer the full weight of its criticism onto the government and even, if possible, organize mass actions in favor of its resignation. There is every indication that Chornovil, who has still not forgotten his presidential election defeat, is worried not so much by Fokin as by the charismatic Kravchuk. Fokin's resignation could force the president to follow Boris Yeltsin's example and take charge of the government. However, it is hard to imagine Kravchuk daring to take this step. So far he has weighed up fairly precisely the consequences of his actions. Fokin's resignation would also be awkward for the president. Not just because the prime minister has long been a person who could easily be blamed for all economic misdemeanors. Fokin, who made the smooth transition from Ukrainian Ryzhkov to Ukrainian Silayev, is known as a man capable of seeking and finding mutual understanding with the Russian leadership. . Boris Yeltsin's well-known rejoinder in Tashkent—"Mr. Kravchuk may not be there, but Comrade Fokin will be"—is highly indicative. Nonetheless no one can guarantee that the Ukrainian prime minister will have a long political career. The reform situation in Ukraine is too vague. That is why the candidacies of Fokin's possible successors are already being discussed today. They will most likely not be politicians, but professional economists. Democrats have long been putting forward the name of Vladimir Pilipchuk, a republic people's deputy and chairman of the parliament's commission for economic reform. Many people will probably voice doubts as to the advisability of this appointment, remembering Pilipchuk's unrealized hare-brained schemes for coupons that even promised 1:10 convertibility for Ukraine's bankrupt currency against the ruble. State Adviser Aleksandr Yemelyanov, who has always expressed some discontent in the top echelons of power and has now ended up alongside Kravchuk, is more capable of acting as Ukraine's Silayev: He is full of ideas, but lacks the ability to create a concept and the opportunities to implement his proposals. Yemelyanov could not even justify his "strongest" idea of late regarding the need for an economic split with Russia. The young deputy prime minister and minister of the economy, Vladimir Lanovoy (the Ukrainian Gaydar)—the most logical candidate for the premiership—runs the risk of being "gobbled up" by powerful managerial structures if, like Gaydar, he is not shielded by the president's authority. But that too is very unlikely. It looks as though, despite the gloomy presentiments of Ukrainian economy watchers, Vitold Fokin's holding the office of prime minister is the "lesser evil" compared with the consequences of his resignation. So the prime minister still retains his post.

People Demand Fokin Government's Resignation

LD0206163592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Video report from Kiev by correspondent V. Lyaskalo—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] At a session of the parliament in Kiev, Leonid Kravchuk announced that he will meet Yeltsin in June by all means.

[Lyaskalo] Invalids, war veterans, medics, teachers and parents—they all reminded the deputies of their problems today and all unanimously called for the Fokin government's resignation. On behalf of radical and even centrist political forces, Vyacheslav Chornovil, leader of the People's Rukh, proposed that the president of Ukraine should take upon himself the duties of head of the Cabinet of Ministers and form a new government of popular trust. But yet again, for the umpteenth time, the issue of confidence in the government was not included in the agenda, most probably because, as was said, nobody would succeed in forming a government of popular trust now because the people no longer want to trust anyone.

Before the morning sitting, each deputy received a whole brochure from the Presidium containing about 10 draft decisions, statements and appeals, all concerning Crimea. The documents note that by its decision of 21 May on legal appreciation of the 1954 decision on Crimea, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has violated at least seven of the 10 peace commandments of the Helsinki final act. The package of drafts also contains an appeal by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet to the North Atlantic Assembly and the CSCE, asking these bodies to dispatch corresponding commissions to Ukraine in order to check the actual state of affairs as regards the Crimean problem. [video shows people, mostly war veterans, holding banners with Ukrainian inscriptions "Save Ukraine from Fokin's government," "Deputies of free Ukraine, we protected your lives during the war - protect us in our old age;" and Supreme Soviet in session).

Byelarus

Supreme Soviet Limits KGB Activities

LD0106134892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1115 GMT 1 Jun 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Minsk—The Byelarus KGB should not be engaged in combatting crime and corruption, the Byelarus Supreme Soviet's Commission on National Security Issues believes. As reported by the Supreme Soviet Commission on National Security, Defense and Combatting Organized Crime, the Byelarus KGB is accountable to the Supreme Soviet while the newly-established service for security and protection of embassies and governmental buildings in Minsk will not be accountable to the committee. The governmental communication means will continue to be protected by the KGB. According to information received at the committee, the 1992 KGB budget is accounted for R [ruble] 500 million and KGB servicemen's salaries are less than in the Interior Ministry. At present, a draft law on security agencies likely to be considered by the autumn session of the Supreme Soviet is being designed. Meanwhile, opposition parties issued a statement which describes the KGB as a gangster-type organization and demands that the republican KGB should be completely disbanded.

Works 'Completely Independently'

LD3005225992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0200 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Since August last year the Byelarussian KGB has been working completely independently and exclusively in the interests of the republic, without receiving any instructions from the former center, said Eduard Shirkovskiy, chairman of the republican KGB, at a news conference yesterday.

Agreement Signed With Kazakhstan

LD3005225792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] An agreement on cooperation between the KGB bodies of Byelarus and Kazakhstan has been signed in Minsk. As heads of the KGBs of both republics stated at a news conference, they have been empowered to sign the agreement by President Nazarbayev and Stanislav Shushkevich, head of the Byelarusian parliament. The main purpose of the agreement is to ensure the security of the two countries and to prevent the special services of foreign states from interfering in their affairs.

Germany Allocates 3 Million Marks for Research

LD2905113192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1105 GMT 29 May 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Lodkin]

[Text] Bryansk, May 29 TASS—A German dosimetrical expedition started working today in the epicentre of the Russian zone of radioactive contamination, caused by the Chernobyl disaster. The FRG Government has allocated three million marks for this initiative.

This is the second stage of German scientific humanitarian aid to Russia. Last year German specialists examined 150,000 people from Bryanks, Kaluga and Tula regions. Experts from 15 scientific institutions of the FRG contributed to the processing of the collected data.

FRG minister for the environment, protection of nature and radioactive safety professor Klaus Toepfer issued a statement before the expedition's current stage was launched, saying that most of those examined were not in danger of any acute radiation diseases. The document was published in Bryansk.

Examination of the Bryansk population will be continued during the second stage of the expedition's work. It is planned to carry out repeated dosimetric measurements during the examination of people who, according to last year's examination, received doses of irradiation, exceeding the norms accepted in Russia. One team of German scientists will examine the local soil, water, air and food products.

"This summer the German expedition intends to carry out similar examinations in two regions of Byelarus, hit by the Chernobyl disaster," ITAR-TASS was told by its leader Paul Sauermann.

Italian Firm Invests $250 Million in Refinery

OW0206232892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Interfax Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Italian financial company Gruppo Gallo plans to invest $250 mn [million] in a project to modernize an oil-refinery in the west Byelarusian city of Mozyr. The Italian-Byelarusian Chamber of Commerce (registered in the municipalities of Minsk and Mogilev), several commercial banks and companies in Byelarus as well as firms and private investors from Italy intend to sign the contract this summer. The Mozyr plant will supply refined products to pay off the loans provided for its modernization.

The Mozyr plant, whose oil refining capacity is the second largest in Byelarus, can preliminarily refine 14.6 mn tons of crude per year. Furthermore, its annual output of gasoline is 1.9 mn tons, of diesel fuel—2.8 mn tons, of lubricants—7.3 mn tons, and of bitumen—0.54 mn tons. Byelarus's largest refinery, located in Novopolotsk, has a preliminary refining capacity of 21.2 mn tons of crude annually (1991 figures).

Currency-Free Trade Begins With Poland

LD3005215392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1952 GMT 29 May 92

[By BELTA correspondent Anna Gladysheva for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, May 29 TASS—The final session of the second international meeting with the theme "Business Without Borders" focused on a detailed discussion of projects and a program of further cooperation.

The forum, that ended here today, was attended by 24 foreign firms, a number of cooperative societies, small businesses and societies of the Commonwealth. The participants applied for participation in the international and inter-regional exhibition-fair "East-West-North-South" to be held in a month.

The next six months seem to be very busy for Byelarus, noted meeting participants. A number of major meetings with Western businessmen has been planned to involve entrepreneurs, bankers and exchange staffers from CIS states.

The republic begins an interesting experiment: It has been decided to open a corridor of currency-free equivalent goods exchange on the Byelarusian-Polish border for six months.

Moldova

Snegur's Press Office Reports on Interview

AU0406153092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Septimiu Roman report from Chisinau]

[Excerpts] Mr. Mircea Snegur, President of the Republic of Moldova, granted an interview today to the correspondent of AFP, the president's press bureau announced.

Outlining the situation in the conflict zone, President Mircea Snegur said that there are suitable solutions to end that conflict, and that vigorous, well thought-out action is needed—both on the internal and external plane—to reach that goal. Mr. Mircea Snegur is primarily hopeful about the next session of Moldova's parliament, during which deputies could make certain concessions [to the Dniester separatists], except for agreeing to federalize the republic, the press bureau communique says. Should Moldova's parliament adopt such a decision, the federalization of Moldova will have to be done without its current president. Under such circumstances I would create a new liberation movement, President Mircea Snegur said.

Talking about the same issue, President Snegur assessed that firm steps will have to be taken in foreign policy and mentioned that he is making efforts to arrange for a summit conference of the four states—the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, and Russia—aiming to settle the conflict in a peaceful way. Aside from that, ensuring even closer ties with neighboring countries—Romania and Ukraine, most of all—would also be useful. President Snegur also announced that the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine will soon sign a treaty concerning economic and political cooperation.

Asked about Moldovan opposition groups and the way he handles suggestions coming from political parties in his country, Mr. Mircea Snegur answered that he had already had a number of meetings with representatives of those parties, but said it was difficult for him to identify which one of them is currently an opposition party. He also mentioned that regardless of the opinions of political parties, they will serve the purposes of the Moldovan people as long as they do not try to betray the interests of that people.

President Snegur announced during the interview that a presidential decree is to be issued soon, stipulating that the Republic of Moldova should be the only one to control its borders with Romania.

Asked about his opinion concerning the hysterical anti-Romanian campaign launched by pro-imperialist circles, Mr. Mircea Snegur answered that the sole purpose of that campaign was to justify the presence and the involvement in the conflict of the forces the 14th Army, placed under Russian jurisdiction. The withdrawal of the army and political and economic relations should be negotiated by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova and Russian officials.

Mr. Mircea Snegur assessed that arresting the leaders of the national liberation movement on the left bank of the Dniester River was a criminal act that needs a firm answer on behalf of the Chisinau authorities, the communique of the presidential press bureau concludes. [passage omitted]

Snegur Informs UN About Dniester Conflict

LD0306222592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0125 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] United Nations, 3 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—"The escalation of the military conflict in Moldova may threaten peace and security in southeastern Europe and is creating a dangerous precedent for the whole of the international community," says a message from Moldovan President Mircea Snegur to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali which was circulated on Tuesday [2 June] as an official document of the UN Security Council.

President M. Snegur has accused the Russian Federation of military aggression against Moldova. Serious danger threatens the security, sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of Moldova, he writes. On 19 May, 1992, military subunits of the 14th Army stationed in the east of Moldova, under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation, openly joined the separatist, antigovernment forces, supplying them with up-to-date military equipment, including tanks and missiles, and rendering support in acts of violence directed against the state's lawful bodies, as well as against the peaceful population. All this is no more than an act of military aggression by the Russian Federation against the Republic of Moldova, an undeclared war, for the consequences of which the Government of Russia bears full responsibility.

The letter notes that in the quests for a political settlement of the conflict the leaders of the Republic of Moldova have repeatedly addressed a request to the leaders of Russia and to President Boris Yeltsin to give the order for the immediate withdrawal of the 14th Army from the firing positions and for the subsequent complete withdrawal of this army from the territory of Moldova. Very regrettably, President M. Snegur notes, we have not received any reply to our letters.

In the event of the Russian Federation not putting an immediate stop to this act of aggression against the Republic of Moldova and not withdrawing its armed forces which are taking part in the conflict on the left bank of the Dniester, Moldova retains the right to appeal officially to the UN Security Council with a request to discuss the situation which has arisen as a result of this foreign military intervention, the president of Moldova's letter stresses.

Snegur on 'Problematic' Existence of CIS

LD0206163192 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] The president of Moldova has made an appeal to the citizens of the republic. Speaking of the CIS, Mircea Snegur noted that in this formation the republics have seen the opportunity for the peaceful and civilized collapse of the Soviet empire, whereas certain forces in Moscow had planned a new model USSR by means of establishing new pro-Moscow regimes. The president stressed that the existence of the CIS is fairly problematic since it is tormented by internal conflicts in which a number of CIS states are acting as observers. He gave as an example the fact that only Ukraine, Lithuania, and Azerbaijan reacted to the interference by the 14th Army in Moldova's internal affairs. In the opinion of Mircea Snegur it is essential to continue the process of talks which was begun in Chisinau by the foreign ministers of Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, and Russia.

More on Renewed Shooting in Dniester Region

LD0306164492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 3 Jun—Gunfire between the Moldovan police and Dniester guardsmen resumed last night in the Dubossary area. Both sides have accused each other of violating the cease-fire. According to preliminary reports, there were no casualties.

The Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs press center has reported that at approximately 0200 in the area of the villages of Cosnita, Pogrebya, and Kochiyer, the armed formations of the Dniester region started firing at police positions with all types of weapons. By dawn, the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs reports, those firing left their positions and retreated.

The press center in Tirasopol, in turn, stated that the Moldovan police had opened fire. It is reported that in Tiraspol a terrorist gang has been detained that was led by Ilie Ilasku, leader of the local Christian-Democrat People's Front. According to the local prosecutor, the gang operated under the leadership of the Moldovan Ministry of National Security and was involved in the assassination of Nikolay Ostapenko, chairman of the Slobodzeya Executive Committee, and one of the heads of the local council of labor collectives. Many weapons and explosives have been confiscated from the gang along with Dniester guardsmen uniforms, which they changed into during subversive operations.

Radio Moldova has announced that Ilie Ilasku and his colleague Stefan Urytu were arrested unlawfully through the use of fabricated accusations. The main reason for their arrest was, the announcement says, that both of them fought for the rights of Moldovans in the Dniester region, which are blatantly violated by separatists.

Supreme Security Council Discusses Dniester

AU0306182692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Septimiu Roman report from Chisinau]

[Text] The evaluation of the past days' events in the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester River and of the measures that have been taken by the state structures to dynamite the process of solving the problems in that region through peaceful means, was the central issue discussed during today's meeting of the Supreme Security Council of the Republic of Moldova, announces a communique received from the Press Bureau of the Moldovan Presidency.

The examination of data and information presented during the meeting by the leaders of the specialized ministers proves that currently, the major destabilizing factors are the deployment in Tiraspol and the direct involvement in illegal military actions of the Russian Federation's 14th Army and the synchronization of the actions by separatists' forces with the national-chauvinistic forces, and other pro-imperial Moscow-supporting forces.

Within this context, the members of the Supreme Security Council mentioned that the efforts to uncover before the world public the true causes and aims of the conflict have not lost their typicality. Taking note of the result of the recent meeting of the foreign ministers of the Republic of Moldova and of Russia, the Supreme Security Council drew attention to the fact that these bilateral contacts can in no way substitute for or marginalize the acknowledged four-way party mechanism.

Starting from the general social political situation and from the need to consolidate the independence and integrity of the country, the Supreme Security Council confirmed the opportunity to step up the adoption of the constitution of the Republic of Moldova and of the legal framework to carry out the administrative-territorial reform. The Supreme Security Council meeting was chaired by Mr. Mircea Snegur, the president of the Republic of Moldova, reads the communique issued by the Press Bureau of the Presidency.

Republic's Supreme Soviet To Meet 9 Jun

LD0406074292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] The Presidium of the Moldovan parliament has resolved to convene a new session of the Republic's Supreme Soviet on 9 June, the NEGA agency reports.

Representatives of the Agraria faction, who held a number of meetings recently with Dniester region deputies in Tiraspol, have assured the Presidium that those elected from that region will take part in the session. For their part, deputies from the People's Front believe that the Dniester region deputies intend only to demand the federalization of Moldova at the session. If this idea is rejected, the Dniester region deputies will leave the parliament, the Moldovan radical nationalists think.

Moldovan, Russian Ministers' Talks Reviewed

LD0306181392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Our correspondent Mikhail Sokirke has just telephoned the studio from Chisinau. Go ahead.

[Sokirke] Good afternoon. Speaking of political events, the meeting between Andrey Kozyrev and Nicolae Tiu, the foreign ministers of Russia and Moldova, respectively, and the joint statement on the conflict in the Dniester region are, of course, in the forefront. The latter envisages the formation of three working groups that will make an all-round study of the problem of the multifaceted conflict in that region—the political, military, and interethnic aspects. Accord also was reached on regular bilateral consultations and meetings.

Experts are more and more inclined, however, to the view that it is time to move from words to deeds. While many of the finer points of this sore issue in theory have been resolved following the two meetings of the foreign ministers from four countries, in practice little has been done as yet. As a result, despite the truce achieved in recent days, the situation gives no ground so far for any great optimism.

But, if that is the problem that is of greatest interest to specialists and political observers, it is yesterday's decision by the government to introduce coupons, starting on 10 June, and to set a maximum monthly income for the population at 5,000 rubles, that has stirred up virtually everybody. And not only the population of Moldova, I believe, but also that of other regions and countries where the ruble is in circulation as the unit of currency. So far, one only guess can what the mechanism for transition will be and how monetary operations between former countries of the Union will be carried out. All that is known is that today's money will be exchanged for coupons on a one-for-one basis. However, taking the experience of Ukraine into account, I do not believe that I would be mistaken to say that a wooden ruble will be replaced by wooden coupons, and of a lower quality, at that.

Cease-Fire Resumes After Bendery Shooting

LD0406105992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0902 GMT 4 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, June 4 TASS—Ceasefire resumed in the breakaway Dniester region of Moldova after a shooting took place north of Bendery last night, reports from Chisinau and Tiraspol said. As usual, the sides blamed each other for the incident.

The Moldovan Interior Ministry also said an "Alazan" rocket was fired by Dniester guardsmen and damaged a canteen in the settlement of Cocieri near Dubossary. No casualties were reported.

However, the field commanders succeed to prevent major conflicts and the armistice has been observed for five days running in the conflict area.

People in trenches say they are tired of fighting and are eagerly waiting for a political solution of the crisis.

Gagauz Leader Cited on Desire for Independence

LD0106141692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 May 92

[Report by presenter Tatyana Mitkova, including recorded remarks by Gagauz President Stepan Topal Mikhail Ogly; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] You probably know that the Gagauz Republic, like the Dniester Region, is more and more inclined to separate from Moldova. We decided to ask the Gagauz president what is making this small nation, numbering just about 120,000 people, demand its independence.

[Topal] We have frequently said that we want to separate. We made the decision, and we told Moldova that we want to be an autonomous republic within Moldova. The Moldova parliament decided that the Gagauz are not a people but an ethnic group, and that there cannot be any question of an administrative division in the shape of an autonomous republic.

Not a single step was taken by Moldova at any sitting of the conciliation commission to decide this question. Today's parliament, by its essence, by its thinking on that, cannot decide that question as quickly.

[Mitkova] It has become known that the Gagauz leader has appealed to the Dniester Region's Supreme Soviet for passive financial aid in setting up state structures, and that this request has been granted.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Statement on Republic Strategy

92US0492A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 92 pp 3-6

[Statement by N.A. Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan: "Strategy of the Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State"]

[Text] "We must take this path if we seriously want to get up off our knees and live normally."

Fate has so disposed that a time of hard reflection and decisions and a radical restructuring of life has befallen us.

The totalitarian society created by the efforts of many years' standing of the communist regime has collapsed literally before our eyes, like a house of cards, what is more, without palpable outside influence. Many reasons for the so rapid and irreversible destruction of, seemingly, a most mighty superpower could be given. But the main one, in my opinion, is the fact that the USSR lacked from the outset a mechanism of man's self-perception and self- definition. Soviet people never really felt as the true masters of their life, property, and country and were merely silent cogs of the party and state machine.

I am profoundly convinced that the nonseparation of the individual from the general masses and the universal leveling are not only an indicator of the archaic nature of the social system, but also a tremendous social evil depriving man of one of his principal rights—the right of choice. It was not fortuitous that as soon as the former ideological tenets were reduced to ashes, many people became confused and are no longer able to find an answer to the normal human question: "Who are we and who will we become in the near and distant future?" The majority of people are today living by the sensations of the wayfarer who has lost his familiar reference points.

Yes, we have given up on the building of a "shining future" according to the nebulous plans of Marxism-Leninism, which few people understood. But does this mean that any prospects are altogether alien to us now? Of course not. The ancient Greeks used to say: No wind is fair for a ship which does not know for which harbor to head. Neither the individual nor power structures nor society can exist without a clear goal. People living without a recognized ideal, a lofty dream, are inevitably seized by the spontaneity of petty, commonplace interests and opportunist material advantage. And, consequently, social degradation ensues. This is why a clear and specific concept of the development of Kazakh society affording everyone an opportunity to see the azimuths of our progress and gain confidence in the predictability of events and the achievement of the end result is necessary today.

I believe that the proposed strategy of the formation and development of the sovereign Republic of Kazakhstan corresponds to this need.

I. Strategic Goals and Conceptual Model of Kazakhstan's Development

The events which radically changed the appearance of the former Soviet Union are the property of history. Today the young sovereign state of the self-determined Kazakh nation and all the peoples and the economy of Kazakhstan are on the way toward a new status.

The social organism and the political and economic relations which existed therein are being transformed. Society and the economy are assuming an increasingly open nature. The development of democracy, the reforming of property relations and the movement toward a full-fledged market have been recognized as the means, to which there is no alternative, of extrication of the economy from the crisis and are creating a climate conducive to the formation of a national state.

Following this course, we must soberly evaluate current realities, having abandoned any overly excited impulses whatever, and arm ourselves with composed and considered practicism. And, what is most important, it is essential that all social transformations be accomplished in accordance with the evolved mentality and traditions of the people and the obligatory consideration of the rudiments of the former totalitarian regime in our consciousness and conduct, of which it is impossible ridding ourselves quickly, however much we would like to do so.

It is important to understand that no one will transform Kazakhstan, seek for it a fitting place in the world community or raise the standard of life for us. I am convinced that without a vision by all Kazakhstanis of the conceptual trajectory of the movement, without an understanding of the long-range goals and without a specific program of steps in their strategic linkage there will be no genuine renewal, and it will remain idle talk.

What strategic goals specifically are we setting ourselves today? Referring to the **sphere of policy**, they are as follows:

The development of the young sovereign state in the direction of the formation of a strong presidential republic: It is important to protect and prevent the erosion here of the national traits of the state formation otherwise it would be a simple aggregate of administrative-territorial units.

A nation cannot exist without statehood, it disappears. In turn, the disappearance of a nation makes pointless the existence of its state. Such is the strict dialectic of the issue. It is entirely appropriate if in our state realizing the principle of equal opportunities for all and the equality of all before the law, regardless of national affiliation, the interests of the indigenous nation—the Kazakhs—are in individual instances specified particularly, as is the case in a number of states. This applies to the revival of the national culture and language, restoration of spiritual and cultural and other ties to the Kazakh diaspora and creation of some prerequisites for the return to their homeland of persons who left Kazakhstan under constraint.

Everyone remembers that the preperestroyka sovereign policy of the center, in its various essences and personalities, brought the Kazakh nation to the brink of catastrophe and degeneration and that a purposeful process of culturation and denationalization went on for decades;

—**the creation of a multiparty system** intensifying democratic transformations and contributing to the consolidation of a multinational society and bringing forth new politicians and leaders;

—**assurance of stability**as the main political goal and as an essential condition of the successful accomplishment of economic reforms, in the transitional period particularly;

—the **conclusion** with regard for geopolitical self-determination of multilateral and multivariant **military-political and economic alliances** ensuring the security and sovereignty of Kazakhstan;

—**an increase in Kazakhstan's political importance** in the world community thanks to the observance of democratic liberties and human rights and the finding of our own and ponderable place in the world economic system;

—**the use of the advantageous geopolitical position** of Kazakhstan in the techniques of entry into world-economic relations.

Occupying a middle position between Europe and Asia, the territory of Kazakhstan with its numerous ancient tribes and their descendants, which have lived here since time immemorial, has been an arena of brisk commercial and political relations. And today also Kazakhstan could perform the strategically important role of connecting link between Europe, the Central Asian part of the former USSR and the rapidly progressing Asia-Pacific region and the south of the continent of Asia.

In the sphere of the economy:

—**the formation of a social market economy** based on competitive principles with the combination and interaction of the main forms of ownership (private and state), each of which will perform its functions in the overall system of economic and social relationships;

—**the creation of the legal and other conditions** for realization of the principle of man's economic self-determination.

The proportion of state ownership will gradually diminish and will in the future be fixed, evidently, in the 30-40 percent range. The reason for this is the fact that sectors based on the riches of the interior, which constitute the exclusive property of the republic, form the core of our economy.

But the active use of government regulation will be present at all stages of our movement toward the social market economy. This is connected not so much with the existence of enterprises wholly or partially owned by the state as with its functions exercised via the budget and tax, credit and social policy.

The influence of the Kazakhstan Government on the economy and the formation of its rational structure will increasingly assume a macroeconomic character, and the decisions which it adopts will be based on market impulses and connected with the regulation of monetary circulation and policy in the sphere of taxes, customs duty and the budget, the exchange rate and bank interest, and export-import quotas and licenses.

After the economy has emerged from crisis or it has stabilized, the question of **the introduction of a national currency** and assurance of its internal and, then, external convertibility will arise. This will be a civilized process, progressing via treaties with states of the ruble zone.

A common currency—the ruble—is undoubtedly important in the transitional period, and we support it. But it has to be said that it is fettering Kazakhstan's independence and could contain a threat to its economic security. Even today, unfortunately, Russia is isolating its control over the monetary system.

It cannot be ruled out that the republic will have to consent to the introduction of a national currency without waiting for the economy to stabilize. The behavior of the countries of the ruble zone is highly unpredictable and frequently fails to take account of the interests of their partners. The modernization of the banking system and the creation and regulation of securities markets are required also;

—the **conquest** of our own or the sharing with other countries of **specific positions on world commodity markets** based on Kazakhstan's natural resources and the modernization of its economy thanks to the preferential development of the manufacturing and science-intensive sectors and export and import-substituting industries with the enlistment of modern overseas and domestic equipment and technology;

—**the saturation of the consumer market.** This is the main path of an increase in the motivation to labor, an enhancement of the quality of life of each Kazakhstani family and the creation of social stability. Interest in labor will not be really strong until there is a sufficient abundance of consumer goods. Inflation and the budget deficit cannot be overcome without this either;

—**the attraction and efficient use of foreign investments** for the development of Kazakhstan.

In accomplishing the transition to the market we must simultaneously not only overcome the economic crisis, but also undertake the structural reorganization of the economy and the conversion of defense enterprises, eliminate our engineering and technological lag and become a highly industrial country with environmentally clean industries. The republic's active participation in international economic and financial bodies and the opening of a network of overseas banks is very important.

At the same time Kazakhstan's potential is so rich that we may in the foreseeable future (unless we get left at the start) really anticipate the republic's conversion into a state which will invest its capital in the economy of other countries.

In the sphere of social development:

—the creation of a society in which the **well-being of all** is secured in practice: of child, youth, able-bodied, and incapacitated age and status;

—**assurance for everyone who so desires of entrepreneurial freedom** and the opportunity to apply his powers in any other sphere of activity so that the more capable, industrious and enterprising achieve in society a higher social status.

As we have seen from our own experience, wage-leveling and the absence of economic liberty kill off in man the active principle and the aspiration to act independently and be responsible for his fate. For society this results in a loss of dynamism and engenders social dependency;

—**the development of ethnic distinctiveness and preservation of the national-cultural diversity of Kazakhstan** and the strengthening on this basis of its prestige in the world as a region with a stable social and political climate;

—**an increase in earned income, pensions and allowances** in proportion to the growth and stabilization of the economy and its integration in world-economic relations, but preventing unlawful enrichment.

Thus the conceptual model of Kazakhstan's development provides for the creation of a society of the open type and a democratic, peace-loving state:

a) which is a strong presidential republic guaranteeing the rights and liberties of the individual and political and ideological pluralism, ensuring stable civil peace and interethnic harmony and reliable defenses and security and occupying a worthy and equal position in the international community;

b) is based on a developed market economy with diverse forms of ownership and socially responsible enterprise, healthy competition, and the prudent participation of overseas investors;

c) has a clearly expressed social focus creating for all without exception equal conditions and opportunities for the application of their capabilities and materially successful existence, preserving and developing the national distinctiveness of each people and pursuing a policy of national consensus as the basis of stable development.

In order that such a model become a reality a precise understanding of the fact that without profound transformations in the economy Kazakhstan will never have a decent future is required of every Kazakhstani, regardless of his nationality, religious belief, and political sympathies and antipathies. It is only possible to arrive at a flourishing society via the market, an open economy and the utmost support for enterprise. To be absolutely specific, in the next **three years we have to normalize the consumer market, in the next seven to 10 years, take important steps to overcome the raw material nature of the economy and develop the infrastructure, and in a further five to seven years, to join the ranks of the new industrial countries. This may be seen as a social contract, dictated by the times, between the authorities and the people, but provided that both parties sacredly fulfill their obligations pertaining to its realization.**

From the standpoint of public interests all societies are divided into more or less civilized, democratic and nondemocratic, and providing for the well-being of their citizens and not doing so for various reasons—because of primordial poverty, the militarized nature of the economy, the infantile character of the leadership or the erroneousness of its chosen course, and the absence of civic peace and harmony. From sly or ideological intent is another gradation.

Kazakhstan will not have liberal or popular capitalism and not true or modernized socialism, but simply a normal democratic society with a multistructural market economy affording each individual equal opportunities for independent choice and economic self- determination and in the realization of his economic, social, national and political interests, a society in which the law, the will of the people and common sense will be supreme and in which the enterprising and industrious will become well-to-do and prosperous citizens.

II. Strategy in the Sphere of Domestic Policy

General Problems of Domestic Policy

The current problems of domestic policy are closely linked with the indisputable fact that Kazakhstan has for the first time in its recent and contemporary history acquired real conditions for all-around self-development accomplished for the purpose of a revival of the distinctiveness of the Kazakh nation and the other nationalities constituting the diverse mosaic of the republic's population. A fundamental proposition of domestic policy, in my view, is, therefore, the principle of interethnic consensus. It is this which determines the particular features of Kazakhstan's path of the composition of a democratic state based on the rule of law and the singularities of our entry into the world community.

The sovereignty of Kazakhstan is of a complex ethnopolitical and legal nature. It represents a distinctive synthesis of the national sovereignty of the Kazakhs (as the leading component) returning them to their national sources and traditions and the sovereignty of the Kazakhstani people as a whole as a single ethnopolitical community. For this reason problems of social stability and a dynamic balance of the interests of the multinational population will always determine the course of the processes of the formation and development of our state. Recognizing this, it is essential to constantly display concern for the cohesion of all peoples of the republic in the name of the burgeoning of Kazakhstan and the happiness and liberty of each individual and for an upturn in the material and spiritual culture of all citizens. I am sure that we will be able to achieve this by reliance on the traditional ability, primordially inherent in the Kazakhs, to live in peace and harmony with the representatives of other nations and nationalities and their natural benevolence and profound respect for the interests of their neighbors. The same benevolence, respectfulness, and understanding of the natural aspiration of the Kazakh nation to its own revival on the part of the other peoples populating Kazakhstan will be the foundation of concord and friendship in our state.

It is a question of a strategy of social unity in ethnic diversity and maintenance of the harmonious community of people living on a common territory and united by common conditions of social being and a kindred mentality and ideas of well-being and happiness and protected by one democratic state based on the rule of law.

It is appropriate to mention that Kazakhstan has within its modern borders historically been a territory of the ethnic settlement of tribes which later constituted the Kazakh nation and the Kazakh khanate. In the final quarter of the 17th century the Kazakhs practically controlled the entire territory of present-day Kazakhstan.

For this reason Kazakhstan in its present form is not someone's gift to the Kazakhs but their historical homeland and primordially Kazakh land. It is not the fault but the misfortune of our people that they have become a minority on the land of their forefathers as a consequence of the colonial enslavement of the tsarist empire, desolation from starvation in the years of Soviet power, the banishment and resettlement of other nations in the period of collectivization and the Patriotic War, and the automatic growth of the proportion of the nonindigenous population in the course of the virgin land epic and the development of the interior of the republic.

It is a thankless business irritating the people with remembrance of past grievances. But nor can individual provocative sallies from political adventurers with a chauvinist tinge who have not found a place for themselves in the new situation go unanswered. For this reason the republic's power structures will continue to employ all constitutional means to ensure the unitary integrity of Kazakhstan and the unity and inviolability of its territory.

The national revival of the Kazakhs combined with the general democratic processes and the realization of human rights is an essential condition of the equal development of the other nationalities. Not encountering obstacles to its development, the Kazakh nation will undoubtedly treat with understanding and respect the interests and requirements of other peoples. The intelligentsia of each people should primordially gravitate toward consolidation, not confrontation.

At the same time the following needs to be emphasized also: The capacity of a nation for the formation of a state is manifested primarily in its desire and ability to live in harmony with the representatives of other nationalities and to constantly maintain an atmosphere in which everyone living in the republic consider Kazakhstan his motherland. Any other position leads to impasse. This is a very serious point, a key point, I would say. We are talking about the consolidating mission of the Kazakh nation.

The development of the statehood of independent Kazakhstan will be accompanied by the assurance of "de facto" presidential rule. The president of the republic, as the head of state, should have all the necessary levers for the exercise of effective leadership. Heading the government, he will decide questions connected with the work of the supreme executive authority, make in the government personnel appointments and determine the responsibility of the government and its members.

A transition to more developed forms of the organization of parliamentary activity will be implemented consistently with the adoption of the new constitution. The highest representative organ of power of Kazakhstan will be truly professional and will have a compact and competent corps of deputies capable of ensuring the harmonious combination of republic and regional interests and the high quality of legislative work.

The policy of an improvement in the separation of powers and the organization of their more efficient interaction in the center and locally on the principles of the precise delineation of authority will be continued. At the same time the head of state should possess opportunities for operational corrective influence on the other branches of authority for the purpose of assurance of the operation of the constitution and the laws of the republic and the rights and liberties of its citizens.

The judiciary in the republic will gradually switch to a system of judges' performance of their functions for life and the more rational separation of authority pertaining to its formation between the head of state and the representative power. Ultimately we will arrive at a single supreme judicial arm of the republic and a ramified system of local specialized judicial bodies.

Improvement of the system of local representative and executive bodies in the direction of the development of genuinely representative principles of the activity of the first and the strengthening of the individual nature of the exercise of the functions of the local executive will continue.

There will be a process in the republic, typical of a post-totalitarian period, of the delineation of political and economic power and the surmounting of the absolute monopoly of the state on ownership. The latter will be expressed in more active privatization and the functioning of quite influential and substantial nonstate forms of ownership and the formation of a massive middle stratum of proprietors imparting stability to the development of the economy and society as a whole. It is this stratum which contributes to the surmounting in society of such negative phenomena as the dependency complex, habituation to assistance and an appeal to the authorities upon the onset of economic difficulties.

But in the transitional period, when there will be an appreciable **stratification of living standards and for the majority of the populace the establishment of the market system will be connected more with sacrifices than an improvement in its well-being, it is essential to treat with understanding people's negative attitude toward the reforms which are being implemented. Rejection of the market is caused by the entirely explicable helplessness of people unfamiliar with market realities and with insufficient skills of practical activity under the new conditions. It is essential in this connection to undertake the creation of a mass base for the affirmation of market ideology capable of persuading people of the acceptability and justice of market values.**

This is the main social condition of the successful realization of economic reform.

Guided by the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," we will endeavor to infuse the citizens' property rights with real content. Without this, talk about genuine human liberty is idle, and the achievement of a living standard corresponding to world standards, an impossible dream.

Another condition of the successful transformations is an increase in the citizens' sense of justice and the law-abiding nature of the state and commercial structures, all economic subjects and the citizens. For this reason all levers of power and the law enforcement and judicial authorities will be employed to eliminate the situation, traditional for us, where any authority has always signified more than any law.

In the foreseeable future the state will retain, as everywhere in the world, the functions of regulation, primarily indirect, of socioeconomic processes, and a sensible proportion between economic liberty and the purposive influence of the state will be maintained. The trend toward an increase in executive power, without which reform of the economy is in practice impossible, will be preserved for the transitional period. Consistency of the actions of the state authorities should be particularly characteristic in questions of the maintenance of law and order and legality, on the part of both citizens and state institutions. The state should be perceived by the legal conscience of the citizens as an effective guarantor of rights and legality.

It is particularly important to provide for realization of the natural right of the citizen to be a proprietor and the prevention of the general and unlawful compulsory alienation of property for reasons of social need, as has been the case repeatedly in our memory.

Various political parties and organizations, as inalienable components of the democratic civil society, will in time perform an increasingly pronounced role in the domestic politics of Kazakhstan.

A multiparty system objectively expresses the actual difference of the interests of social groups of society depending on the property, professional and other stratification of the population. The process of formation of a political opposition to the authorities is realized via a multiparty system, which enables the latter to take account of the diversity of interests and social expectations of different strata and groups, and a real counterweight to relapses into totalitarianism and voluntarism arises, and within the framework of the parliamentary system, an opportunity for the civilized solution of this social contradiction or the other is afforded.

The multiparty system will take shape by no means artificially, but rather in line with the appearance of a real basis, thanks to the natural demolition of the socioeconomic homogeneousness of society en route to the market and the crystallization of the interests of different groups of the population. But the boundaries between political freedom and a situation where a brazen disregard for the standards of social behavior common to all mankind is passed off as political liberty will at the same time be clearly distinguished. For this reason we emphatically reject political parties and organizations preaching national, class, and religious intolerance and representing a threat to the constitutional system and the territorial integrity of our sovereign state.

Political democracy is unthinkable without independent media, but at the same time, a socially responsible media conscious of the entire destructive and destabilizing power of lack of objectivity and bias. Oriented toward them, the structures of state power study public opinion and adjust their actions accordingly.

Strategy of Economic Development

Strategy and tactics in the sphere of the economy—the decisive sphere of social life—consist of continuation of the transition to the market system with the simultaneous surmounting of the structural and technological lag.

These problems, difficult even for a stable economy, are intensified for us by the fact that today Kazakhstan, together with the other countries of the CIS, is going through a complex economic crisis caused by political, management, and systemic factors, that is, by the impasse nature of the command economy and subjective mistakes of the leadership of the former Union.

There is on the agenda a vitally important question; how to begin the surmounting of the crisis, halt the slump, and switch to gradual upturn?

Foreign investments could undoubtedly perform a positive role. But the practice of the perestroyka years testifies that putting serious emphasis on the external factor in the immediate future would be a mistake. Wide-scale credit assistance has not as yet, as a rule, gone beyond the framework of promises. There are objective reasons for this also, of course (instability, interethnic wars, the lack of clarity until recently over whom to deal with—the weakened center or the strengthened republics—and so forth). The uncertainty as to the scale and timeframe of the allocation of credit assistance, which is into its umpteenth year, is fettering our initiatives within the framework of our own possibilities and preventing the adoption of bold decisions of principle.

We can no longer continue in this situation waiting in vain. The sole solution suggests itself: It is necessary to rely first and foremost on ourselves and to start to extricate ourselves from the crisis by reliance on our own powers. The main emphasis should be put on our manufacturer and investor, and assistance should be rendered to those who work and produce, save and invest.

Unless we do this, economic catastrophe will ensue, and all republics of the former Union will over a long period of time be condemned to the quite humiliating role of economic colony of the developed states. This is an unpleasant conclusion, but it corresponds to the actual situation.

Of course, were some politicians of CIS countries, having cast aside political ambitions and fruitless games, to unite efforts, extricating ourselves from the crisis together would be far easier. After all, our economies have literally "grown into" one another and are most closely intertwined, and it is extremely imprudent pulling them apart only on the basis of the fact that each member of the former Union has become a sovereign state, an independent subject of international relations, and a full member of the United Nations and other international organizations. Guided by common sense and frequently forgoing some of their sovereignty, a majority of countries aspires to integration. We, on the other hand, jealously guarding in our hearts past grievances against the collapsed totalitarian center, even if justified, are doggedly intensifying the processes of disintegration. This does us no credit.

Kazakhstan has always been prepared for a joint version of a way out of the crisis and has striven perseveringly for its realization by both economic and political methods. But, unfortunately, our initiatives have not met with support on the part of a majority of CIS partners. For this reason, while remaining sincere adherents to a pooling of efforts, we have been forced to seek an independent way out of the current situation, namely, to effect a transition from a policy of "integration" to a policy of "coordination" with the CIS countries. This policy course will be pursued without fuss and dangerous impatience, with reliance on intrinsic latent potential. It has to be said that we have quite considerable potential; in any event, many countries starting their path toward economic revival have not had even a small proportion of what we possess at this time.

First, a wide spectrum of minerals creating a dependable raw material basis for practically any type of production. Second, big areas of agricultural land and pasture enabling Kazakhstan, following the reform of land relations, to become a notable exporter of food even in the world arena. Third, the presence of quite developed production potential and a competent contingent of workers in all sectors. Fourth, a rich arsenal of scientific ideas, discoveries, and inventions not properly claimed by the previous system, but not as yet, unfortunately, finding state support because of the tenacity of bureaucratic traditions unreceptive to risks going beyond the framework of customary commonplace ideas, in any event.

Thus the first fundamental conclusion with strategic consequences: It is essential to overcome the growth of the crisis and restore the economy from our own possibilities, which permit this. There have in our history been instances of us emerging from a situation with far worse starting conditions.

The second conclusion, of the same significance: The progressive structural reorganization of the economy and the surmounting of its technological lag will be secured by the choice of the correct priorities and their realization on the basis of the mechanism of economic stimulation of the development of particular sectors which is created.

Priorities for Kazakhstan in the sphere of material production are:

—saturation of the market with food and consumer goods;

—a buildup of the resources of construction and construction industry, primarily for the erection of housing;

—creation of final process stages in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the surmounting of the economy's raw material focus;

—the development of science-intensive industries and mechanical engineering and the diversification and, where necessary, the conversion of defense enterprises;

—the introduction of environmentally clean technology;

—formation of a modern infrastructure (transport, communications, power engineering, tourism and a hotel network).

A specific form of the practical realization of the priority directions will be special government programs based on indicative plans and created on the basis of their participation in the new organizational structures.

The following government programs will be drawn up and implemented with regard for the said priorities in the republic:

1) a program of saturation of the market with consumer goods, including food;

2) a program of the development of Kazakhstan's export potential. It will naturally absorb problems of the creation of the culminating process stages in industry, science-intensive works and the development and reorganization of enterprises of the defense complex;

3) a program for the development of import-substituting production, which will tackle simultaneously the task of economies in currency resources;

4) a program of the comprehensive building and sale of housing. It is to alter the ideology of a solution of the housing problem and create in reality a housing market, which will, in turn, enable us to have a very important component of the market infrastructure—a market of manpower and the crossflow thereof from sector to sector and from region to region, depending on the decline and growth of business activity therein;

5) a program of development of the infrastructure.

Environmental problems will be resolved in the course of realization of all the said problems, given the participation of overseas investors and the latest technology enlisted with their assistance.

For the purpose of averting ecological catastrophes, accidents and other imbalances in the ecosystems each project should be preceded by skilled expert appraisal. Inasmuch as we still lack our own specialists, it will be necessary to resort on a long-term basis to the services of overseas firms, which, in addition to the expert evaluation of contracts and consultations, would select for us environmentally safe technology and help in the training of the personnel.

The main task today is to revive incentives to labor so that an individual might want to work and earn and believe in the creative role of the market. The sole path is the creation of commodity abundance. Initially if only to afford people an opportunity to freely satisfy their modest priority requirements, of foodstuffs in particular.

For this reason ahead of all strategic priorities will come **development of the agroindustrial complex** and its consistent and decisive reform and also measures pertaining to saturation of the consumer market with industrial commodities.

The national program of the development of small-scale rural industry being devised by the government is designed to serve the accomplishment of this task. Some 1,100-1,200 small enterprises on the basis of compact equipment and daughter affiliates of urban industry will be built in Kazakhstan's rural areas in accordance therewith. This will make it possible to reduce losses of agricultural raw material, produce high-grade final products locally and create prestigious jobs for rural youth. The program will contribute to the industrial renewal of rural localities and a strengthening of the stratum of the rural engineering-technical intelligentsia and businessmen.

The above-mentioned housing program will be drawn up and implemented simultaneously.

It is significant that at the head of both programs will be the banks, as is customary in market countries. The resources of shareholders in the shape of enterprises, local administrations, and the citizens will be mobilized to this end.

Special programs in respect to individual types of products and industries, which will subsequently constitute Kazakhstan's "niche" in the system of the world economy and will be objects of constant state support, are essential for the republic also. Our potential will, I believe, enable us to share the lead in terms of 10-15 commodity types and three to five instances of high technology.

All the said national programs should, in accordance with the experience of the United States, be formalized in the form of individual laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Proceeding from the experience of states with a developed market economy, it is essential that we engage in the practice of short-, medium-, and long-term plan-forecasts of an indicative nature for the purpose of constant analysis and control on the part of the government of the development of Kazakhstan's economy in this period or the other.

An important component of the strategy is the rate of Kazakhstan's revival and development.

A strategy of rapid economic growth has been realized successfully in a number of countries, including the FRG, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The position of these states at the start, except for the availability of a direct outlet to sea and ocean routes, was largely inferior to what Kazakhstan has today. Proceeding from this and also considering the increase in megatrends in the field of science, new technology and management, integration and world-economic relations, the timeframe of Kazakhstan's transition to the new status could be reduced to 15-20 years.

We must take this path for our own sake and for the sake of our children and grandchildren. But then this means that we have to step up our labor rhythm for the path of development and progress is simple and unique—constantly surpassing what has already been achieved. Yet many of us want to move forward while doing nothing or adding nothing to what was done yesterday. According to the figures for 1990, productivity in Kazakhstan's industry was lower than in Pakistan, Thailand, Turkey, and Iran. Therefore, we need an appeal to selfless, public-spirited labor not as another propaganda slogan but as an extreme and rigorous necessity, if we want seriously to get up off our knees and live normally. "Tigers" do not emerge from the indolent but from the enterprising and questing, the hardworking and stalwart. It is this task which we are setting and must accomplish in Kazakhstan. We cannot let slip the opportunity afforded us by fate, having all the objective foundations for this.

"Rapid development strategy" should be the economic ideology of all of society and of everyone who considers Kazakhstan his homeland and is prepared to share with it the burdens of the transitional period and the joy of future well-being.

There is no progressing along the track of the market economy without a precise "schedule," which has its stages and specific tasks corresponding to them. They would appear to me to be as follows.

The **first stage** encompasses 1992-95 and should be characterized by two main processes of macroeconomic stabilization: active denationalization and privatization of property and saturation of the consumer market with commodities.

Ownership in this time in this form or the other should be reformed at practically all facilities of state ownership, except those which are of strategic significance and which ensure national security. The privatization of small- and medium-sized enterprises of various sectors of the economy should have been almost completed here by mid-1994. Properties of the service sphere and the housing sector should have been privatized by the end of 1993.

These measures combined with an active antitrust policy will contribute to a strengthening of the private sector and proprietor-entrepreneurs. It is essential also to practice the local concessionary transfer, long-term leasing, and sale of land to overseas investors for progressive technology projects.

As already mentioned, the starting forces for the state of the recovery and upturn of the economy consist primarily of our intrinsic potential, and for this reason it is very important to find a mechanism of their consolidation, overcome the continuing departmental and sectoral separation of the enterprises, effectively trigger their technological and economic integration, and plug in entrepreneurial business to this sphere.

Together with this the government has in the current year even to draw up a program for the attraction and use of foreign investments and the importation and assimilation of foreign technology with regard for the chosen strategy and priorities. When it comes to state credit, such a program will make it possible to attract in weighed and economically justified fashion foreign investments for projects which will recover costs in hard currency and to prevent a dangerous increase in the foreign debt and also to purposefully form the state's gold and currency funds. It will be necessary to introduce a system of the insurance of investments of capital by overseas and Kazakhstani entrepreneurs, which is world practice. That this will make it possible to guarantee the timely return of credit and earn for Kazakhstan the reputation of reliable partner is of considerable importance also.

It is necessary to simultaneously conduct a detailed audit of the republic's S&T potential for the purpose of ascertainment of research efforts of a world standard and the development of venture enterprise ensuring abridged timeframes of scientific research, high returns, and the rapid acquisition of a commercial product.

The purposeful preparation of a springboard for a future technological breakthrough should be undertaken in practice. There are objective prerequisites for the formation of preferential development zones in the suburbs of Alma-Ata and Pavlodar, technology parks or technopolises of an international nature based on the Semipalatinsk Test Range and the Baykonur Cosmodrome and innovation centers in Karaganda, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Tselinograd, and Atyrau.

At the **second stage** (1996-2005) the gradual surmounting of the raw material focus of the economy will continue, and simultaneously important content thereof will be the accelerated development of the transport system and telecommunications and also the formation of developed commodity and currency markets and other markets—capital, manpower, securities and intellectual property.

Implementation of the plans for a Trans-Asia Main Railroad from the Pacific to the Bosporus Strait and the building of a modern freight and passenger international airport close to Alma-Ata will be of priority significance. This will accelerate Kazakhstan's entry into the world economy and enable it to become a kind of "bridge" between East and West and between Europe and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region and to realize its geopolitical functions also.

The driving forces and stimuli of the intensive development of the economy are to mature within the second stage:

—full-fledged market mechanisms;

—the genuine freedom of all commodity producers;

—the rational use and conservation of the natural environment;

—the process of the assimilation of high technology and the conquest of positions in the world economy which will have gathered speed;

—a competent personnel corps in the field of national and international business.

The **third stage,** lasting five to seven years, will be characterized by the accelerated pace of the development of an open-type economy, the achievement on this basis of the strategic goals of the transitional period, a strengthening of Kazakhstan's positions in world trade, and entry into the ranks of the world's new industrial countries.

Problems of the budget deficit and convertibility of the currency will be resolved as market relations are built.

Only the functions which it performs better than other structures, market included, will be left for the state.

The former system of economic information has proven unsuitable for a skilled assessment of the processes occurring in society inasmuch as it fails to correspond to the new production relations. The possibility of obtaining the necessary information from the enterprises has been undermined by the Enterprise Act. For this reason the legislative enshrinement of enterprises' obligation to make objective information available to the statistical and banking authorities is essential for building a uniform system of information adapted to international requirements, including the state of financial assets, solvency, prices, production costs, and other indicators.

The elaboration of another strategy for Kazakhstan, with regard for its new condition and new role in the world community, will be required in connection with the exhaustion of the content and goals of the strategy of the transitional period.

Strategy of Social Development

Accomplishment of the tasks in the sphere of the economy is closely related to questions of social development. It is sufficient to say that the saturation of the consumer market and the creation of food abundance will simultaneously accomplish the tasks of stabilization of the economy and a rise in individuals' living standard and a lessening of social tension.

Measures will be adopted primarily to blunt the factors generating inflation and thereby lowering individuals' real income. This will be achieved by two related paths: first, an expansion of the production and supply of goods and services; second, a curbing of the growth and the soaking up of income in order to divert it from current consumption (securities, housing construction, consumer durables, and so forth).

At the center of the state's strategy in the transitional period will be social protection of the population of Kazakhstan:

—government support and the creation of social shock absorbers primarily for the incapacitated and needy strata—retirees, invalids, large families, and the student youth;

—government support for science, culture, education, and health care;

—assurance of social safeguards in respect to unemployment.

We are underestimating as yet such an insidious "snare" of the market as unemployment, although it could increase rapidly in the event of the mass bankruptcy of enterprises on account of the increase in prices and the narrowing of consumer demand. For this reason each oblast and city should work on a program to create extra jobs. Competition, bankruptcy, and unemployment are obligatory attributes of the market system.

The closest attention will be paid to the employment service in order to reduce the negative consequences of unemployment to a minimum. The system of the retraining of specialists and workers will be strengthened, a housing market will be created, and the migration of people inside and outside of Kazakhstan, now uncontrolled, will to this end be put in a civilized framework;

—compensation support for the population living in particularly ecologically crisis-ridden and remote areas;

—pursuit of a well-conceived demographic and immigration policy, which on the one hand does not conflict with international standards and, on the other, defends the interests of the indigenous population given possible mass migrations of foreign manpower into the republic in the event of the success of the rapid development strategy.

The realization of these directions of social protection will be secured primarily thanks to budget appropriations and the resources of various social foundations and charity.

Minimum pensions and wages will be revised upward regularly with regard for the dynamics of inflation.

Questions of the guaranteed provision of persons in receipt of pensions and allowances via a network of special stores with the use as a means of payment of national metal coinage are being developed.

Under the conditions of a crisis of the economy the first to suffer are the sectors of the nonproduction sphere, where the people's intellectual potential is concentrated most. Utilizing all opportunities of the state, measures to bring average wages closer to the average wage in the production sphere will be adopted here.

The free-of-charge nature of basic medical services for the socially vulnerable contingent of the population and also of the acquisition of an education will be preserved throughout the transitional period. In the higher school and secondary technical school system the introduction of paid education should be rigorously measured out in doses, otherwise access to education could be monopolized by well-to-do people.

Socially responsible and successful entrepreneurs are called upon to come to the assistance of the incapacitated strata of the populace living in poverty, particularly in the transitional period, and to alleviate their sense of deadlock and hopelessness. Simultaneously the government has to quickly create a precise, selective system for the medium- and long-term allocation of credit for small business. This is of great significance for Kazakhstan inasmuch as on account of the high degree of concentration of production the proportion of small enterprises which has taken shape is very small. Yet it is they which are the most adaptive to changing market conditions.

With regard for our traditions and the level of initial well-being of even the well-to-do strata it will take a considerable amount of time for private property to start to perform a decisive role. For this reason we should not abandon the values and efficacy of the collective and the efficiency of the worker-entrepreneur. Protection of enterprise, from the pressure of foreign capital included, and the limitation of bureaucratic willfulness in respect to it are an essential and important component of the transitional period.

As an additional measure of protection of the citizens it is planned to introduce voluntary pension insurance.

An ingredient of social strategy in the transitional period as a whole is assurance on the basis of the social orientation of the market economy of high living standards of low-income and needy strata and groups of the populace with particular emphasis on Kazakhstan's rural regions.

As is customary in the world, the status and social image of civil servants, who should have high wages, emoluments for length of service, and long-term labor contracts with the state, will be raised appreciably. Because of low pay, many of them have already left or are preparing to leave for commercial structures. Unless this process is halted, public interests, which civil servants are intended to competently protect and defend, will suffer. Measures to upgrade the skills of the machinery of state must be realized.

A consequence of the transformations will be the formation of a new social structure of the population and social institutions appropriate to the market system and also a rise in the level of stability of interethnic relations.

In abridged form the content of social strategy amounts to the following:

—the achievement of a new quality of life for people close to the standards of consumption of the developed countries;

—implementation of government policy of the social protection of retirees, invalids, large families, children and youth, and also other needy citizens;

—formation of a social stratum of Kazakhstani entrepreneurs (10-15 percent of the total numbers of the able-bodied population) as a key factor of realization of the economic and social transformations, the initiation of market reforms, and the stabilization and upturn of the economy;

—a change in the value orientation in society thanks to the formation of a pro-market consciousness in the younger generation;

—creation of the conditions for the real social mobility of the population thanks to the expansion of tracts of employment and economic niches in nonstate structures making it possible to achieve genuine economic freedom of the individual;

—development of diverse systems of insurance as supplementary channels of social protection;

—the uplifting of the level of social development of backward regions within Kazakhstan thanks to appropriations from special funds and preferential operating conditions.

The timeframe of the realization of social strategy does not coincide with that of the implementation of economic development strategy inasmuch as social strategy is connected not only with structural changes in the social composition of the population, but also the value reorientation of the social consciousness, which is impossible without the birth of a new generation—one that is economically and socially more active.

As a whole, the social transformations will negotiate three stages: 1) the social stratification of society; 2) adaptation of the new social structures to the market situation; 3) their integration and rational interaction among themselves. Taking advantage of the experience of the postwar revival of the FRG, the Kazakhstan Government will endeavor to ensure that, despite the process of the stratification of society in terms of income level, this difference is reduced to a reasonable minimum. The economic levers necessary for this have still to be created.

A few words should be said about the factors of both a positive and negative nature which will influence practical implementation of the strategy of social development. Pertaining to the first are:

—the higher level of industrialization compared with the majority of countries which have embarked on radical transformations;

—the comparatively high level of education of the population of the republic;

—the developed system of social support of the state in the form of compulsory basic secondary education, free medicine, accessibility of basic cultural services, and so forth;

—the existence of mass social groups of the intelligentsia and managers constituting the potential base of the future middle stratum;

—the rational orientation of the highest stratum of the machinery of state, which under the conditions of a temporary increase in the prerogatives of the executive authorities is of considerable importance;

—the relative freedom of geopolitical choice brought about by noninvolvement in any regional blocs whatever.

The persistent mentality of dependence, the sharp regional unevenness of the distribution of the population and resources of social development, and the backwardness of the production apparatus could play the part of inhibiting features.

III. Strategy in the Sphere of Foreign Policy and National Security

General Problems of Foreign Policy

With the acquisition of sovereignty and entry into the United Nations and a whole number of international organizations Kazakhstan has encountered problems of its own foreign policy, defense, and national security which are new for it and problems of independent entry into the world economy and the world community.

Having found itself in the international arena, Kazakhstan has plunged into a qualitatively different environment, in which its foreign policy course is, as with any other state, developing according to its own logic dictated by national-state interests. But, granted all this, Kazakhstan's foreign policy is designed to contain also a charge common to all mankind, which will in the future secure for its peoples a worthy place in the world community.

The specifics of the geopolitical position and ethnodemographic composition and the level of development of the economy and military organizational development of Kazakhstan make predominant in the assurance of its security not military but political means with reliance primarily on its own powers and prudent, balanced diplomacy, particularly in the present, dramatic segment of the formation of the statehood of the republics of the former Union.

As a result of the collapse of the Soviet empire an absolutely new geopolitical arrangement, in which Kazakhstan occupies an advantageous space in the foreign policy and strategic aspects linking Europe with the Asia-Pacific region, has emerged.

But the lack of a direct outlet to the open seas and communicative resources make the republic's participation in international economic relations difficult. For this reason exceptional significance is attached to the preservation of mutually profitable friendly relations on the principles of complete trust with contiguous states, primarily with Russia and China, which are for us the gates to world lines of communication. Kazakhstan is prepared for this. At the same time we, naturally, advocate the development of broad relations with all other countries based on international justice and partnership.

Close relations also with the states of Central Asia, which have been brought about by common borders, evolved economic ties, the complementariness and interdependence of the economies, and historical and cultural-ethnic affinity, are very important to us.

The signing of agreements between Kazakhstan and Turkey, Pakistan and India, and also the results of the Ashkhabad meeting (9-10 May of this year), in which Iran took part also, are reason to speak of the development of cooperation with these and other Asian states.

Kazakhstan's association with the integration processes in the Asia-Pacific region, South and Southeast Asia, and the Near and Middle East for the purpose of gaining access to dynamically developing markets of capital, technology, raw materials, and industrial products will be stepped up. An important strategic direction remains the development of all-around cooperation with the leading countries of West Europe and North America.

It is essential to build the policy of incorporation in the world community with regard for a due evaluation of the possibilities of partnership of the three main centers of the market system—the United States, Japan, and West Europe—remembering that it is they which were the motivating force of the intensification of world-economic relations. Interaction with them also opens the way to international financial and other institutions, whose role in the world has grown considerably. We see multilateral cooperation and effective participation in international organizations—the United Nations, the IMF, the World Bank, GATT, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and others—as the logical continuation of the course toward the openness of our society and the assurance of economic and national security.

For the development of trade and economic relations with other countries and the greater diversification of these relations, it is essential that Kazakhstan secure for itself, in accordance with contemporary international law, unimpeded access to the sea. Without the consolidation and specification of this right with neighbors in bilateral treaties and agreements, Kazakhstan will find itself in a dependent position, which could undermine not only its economic but also political independence. For our part, we give assurances that our air space, as, equally, territory (rail and motor arteries), may be used for the transit traffic of people and goods in all directions. At the same time we are studying the possibility of an outlet to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea via the Caspian, southward. The agreement reached between China, Iran, and Turkey on the creation of a transit main railroad from the Pacific to the Mediterranean is significant.

Together with this it is essential to adopt and implement within the framework of bilateral treaties and agreements with the participants in the CIS the principle of open borders and freedom of movement of citizens and the transmission of information. The treaties should enshrine guarantees of security (military, economic, environmental) and commitments of the parties not to resort to force or the threat of force in respect to one another in any form whatever, by way of use of the territory, territorial waters, and air space of third countries contiguous with the other party included.

In the building of national security we proceed from our geostrategic position "at the intersection" of two powers—Russia and China. It may be ensured on the basis of a combination of our own defensive resources and participation in a system of collective security. The system of Kazakhstan's security should be an integral part of a regional and planetary security system.

As a consequence of geographical, political, ethnic, and other historical factors relations with Russia are for us the most important issue. In relations with Russia we will aspire, if necessary, to the conclusion with it of agreements and a long-term treaty on mutual security, presupposing its return interest in this also.

Following the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact Organization, there has been a new look for NATO's role in the modern world. It has a mission acceptable for our rapprochement—helping the democratic development of the countries of East and Central Europe and the CIS and preventing, as far as it is able, regional conflicts. NATO, like the EC, is interested in an expansion of its influence among the republics of the former Union. The statement adopted on 1 April of this year at a defense ministers' meeting at NATO headquarters reflected a readiness to develop dialogue, partnership, and cooperation and also bilateral contacts and exchanges in the defense field within the framework of a body created specially for this—the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. The NATO members have undertaken to make available for this purpose the considerable expert potential and experience in the solution of questions of a defense nature which they have accumulated.

With regard for this we will move to broaden contacts with NATO, having clearly determined their spheres and limits and not to the detriment of military cooperation within the framework of the CIS or bilateral military relations. The diversification of military relations within strictly adjusted limits and active incorporation in a system of European security is in the republic's interests. Among the 10 principles of the Helsinki Final Act is the inviolability of borders, the territorial integrity of states, and the nonuse of force or the threat of force. This alone justifies the intention to broaden Kazakhstan's relations with NATO and involvement in the work of the CSCE, a participant in which we have become as a successor of the former Union.

Obviously, the nuclear weapons deployed on the territory of Kazakhstan, even following their appreciable reduction within the framework of the treaty process with Russia and the United States and, in the future, with the remaining nuclear powers also, will continue to perform their defensive functions. Kazakhstan will be a zone free of nuclear weapons, as a result of the treaty process. With regard for the interests of our security, our ultimate desire is to obtain guarantees of territorial integrity and inviolability without the nuclear potential.

Although Islam is not the sole religion in Kazakhstan, and Islamic fundamentalism is absent here, we must take account of the "Islamic factor" by virtue of its actual significance in contemporary international relations. For Muslim believers this is important from the standpoint of religious communication, and for all Kazakhstanis, regardless of their credal affiliation, in the plane of potential benefits from ties to the wealthy countries of the Islamic world. International dealings with them will be used for mutually beneficial cooperation in all spheres, particularly the upturn of the economy and the living standard of the whole population of Kazakhstan.

A regrettable feature of our times is the multifaceted ecological danger. For Kazakhstan the main danger is connected with the Aral, which is drying up. This is not only a regional but also planetary problem—the Aral performs a big role in preservation of the earth's biosphere. A solution of the problem of the Aral requires the organization of large-scale and effective international cooperation for its salvation. This is an imperative of the survival and the moral duty of all mankind.

Our ecological diplomacy will be geared to the conclusion of official multilateral and bilateral agreements regulating the management of the region's ecosystems. The Danube and Rhine commissions and the Canadian-American Great Lakes Commission, which have formulated a practicable mechanism for the settlement of international disagreements and conflicts in respect to use of the water basins for industrial and agricultural purposes, could serve as an example here.

System of National Security and Military Doctrine

In connection with the changes which have occurred of late in the geopolitical situation and the announcement of Kazakhstan's independence the question of the creation of its own armed forces, which are throughout the civilized world an indispensable element of the structure of an independent state, has arisen.

Despite Kazakhstan's aspiration to preserve the Joint Armed Forces of the CIS, the actual actions of individual members of the Commonwealth pushed the problem onto the plane of creating independent armed forces for Kazakhstan. And we have already taken this step.

I believe that the system of the republic's national security should be built on the following principles:

—guaranteed assurance of the security of the republic and its state and territorial integrity, primarily with the aid of political measures and an extension of economic interaction;

—the subordination of the departments responsible for national security to the highest authorities and society as a whole, given glasnost and maximum possible openness;

—an organization of the armed forces and level of provision with equipment and arms appropriate to the actual military danger based on the principle of defensive sufficiency;

—correspondence of the building of a system of national security to the principles of a state based on the rule of law and the rules of international law with regard for national-historical traditions and world experience.

The central part of the system of the republic's national security is military doctrine with its mechanism for preventing and countering a military threat.

We declare first and foremost the peace-loving focus of our policy and state that we have no territorial designs on a single state. Aware of our responsibility and understanding that any military conflict could entail catastrophic consequences:

—we recognize the preservation of peace as the priority goal of the official policy of Kazakhstan;

—reject war or the threat of military force as a means of achieving political, economic, and other goals;

—aspire to the acquisition of the status of nuclear-free state and affiliation with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty;

—support the principle of no first use of weapons of mass destruction and advocate the adoption of this undertaking by all states of the world community;

—adhere to the principles of the inviolability of the evolved borders and noninterference in other states' internal affairs.

The direct threat of world nuclear and conventional war has today been considerably reduced. At the same time serious contradictions of an economic, territorial, religious, ethnic, and other nature, which could lead to armed conflicts affecting the interests of Kazakhstan and other states to which it is bound by mutual defense or other commitments, persist.

We regard as sources of potential military danger:

—the endeavor of states or coalitions thereof to dominate in the world community or regionally and attempts to resolve contentious issues by military means;

—the presence in a number of states or coalitions thereof of powerful groupings of armed forces and the continued system of their basing, in proximity to the borders of the Republic of Kazakhstan included;

—the instability of the internal political situation in a number of states and the armed conflicts which are occurring between states;

—the buildup by a certain number of states of their military potential.

Kazakhstan sets as its main goal participation in the creation of a system of collective security of the world community and undertakes to actively contribute to any peacemaking efforts. To this end the republic seeks and will continue to seek:

—a settlement of conflict situations exclusively by the peaceful path, by means of negotiations within the framework of international law;

—a winding down of the arms race on earth and prevention thereof in space;

—a stage-by-stage reduction by all states of the international community in their armed forces to the minimum level sufficient for defense;

—a reduction in the manufacture and testing of all types of weapons of mass destruction, primarily nuclear, with the prospect of their complete elimination;

—a ban on the use of existing and the creation of new technology for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction; prevention of the exportation (transfer) of the materials and technology facilitating the creation and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;

—destruction of chemical weapons;

—mutual openness in military activity and the implementation of measures in the sphere of confidence-building and security;

—the transformation of military-political alliances into new structures of a collective and all-embracing system of international security.

Recognizing the community of military-political and economic interests of Kazakhstan and Russia and other countries of the CIS, we will coordinate our efforts in respect to a strengthening of international security with all members of the United Nations.

Like any sovereign state, Kazakhstan considers maintenance of its defense capability a most important state function and the concern of its entire people and will until the creation of an all-embracing system of international security engage in military organizational development together with other states which have expressed a desire to enter into a defensive alliance with it. Our main goal is defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kazakhstan.

The formation of our own armed forces—the army of the Republic of Kazakhstan—should be completed within a short space of time on the basis of the concept of a defensive strategy. It will be composed of ground forces, an air force, air defense forces, and naval units and also support and service formations and units. Interior forces and the republic guard are its reserve in a time of war.

The army of the Republic of Kazakhstan is intended for the repulse of aggression against Kazakhstan and its allies and defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic and the members of the defensive alliance. It will be manned on the principles of territoriality, a combination of general military service and voluntary service on contract and the equality before the law of all citizens of the republic in the performance of their military duty.

Declaring the fundamentals of our military doctrine, we guarantee strict compliance with the commitments assumed within the framework of the defensive alliance and the United Nations and also determined by other international rules of law.

Strategy of Foreign Economic Relations

Under current conditions the basis of a state's successful development is macroeconomic stability—a noninflationary monetary and credit policy and strict control of the budget deficit and normal pricing—and also openness in foreign trade—stimulation of exports, the minimum of import restrictions, a uniform import tariff, the optimum national currency exchange rate, and favorable conditions for external investments.

The extent and level of intervention of the state in the economy is a serious factor. It has frequently been the latter which have been the main reason for the failures of developing countries since the consequences of exceeding the bounds of reasonable sufficiency here are of a negative nature. It is important here to clearly delineate the functions of government, the oblast authorities, state-owned enterprises, and the private sector in both the domestic economy and in the sphere of external relations and switch to economic methods of regulation.

Within the framework of an intensification of the republic's foreign economic activity it is essential:

—to create conditions for the development of enterprise and attract individuals' savings since national capital in all developing countries caters for eight to 12 times more investments than foreign capital;

—to elaborate and introduce a set of laws in the sphere of foreign economic relations and ensure compliance therewith and guarantees of stability;

—to develop the infrastructure—transport, communications, financial markets and insurance, and a system of banks—and to create a modern information system;

—to train personnel in the field of international law and marketing and statistics, tax inspectors, bank employees, translators, financial experts, auditors, accountants, and specialists in foreign trade and other professions, which are necessary for the market and the competent management of the reform;

—to pursue an active foreign economic policy both in the priority sectors for the republic and at the level of economic blocs and to perform purposeful work with individual countries whose economies are complementary to our economy.

It is necessary to facilitate foreign banks' access to economic activity in Kazakhstan, introduce more flexible currency practices and practices based on foreign ownership in the priority sectors of the economy and attract more foreign capital in the form "portfolio investments" for the realization of specific national projects.

With regard for the present state of relations and strategic interests of the republic foreign economic policy will be developed in the following practically equivalent directions:

1. **CIS:** Preservation and consolidation of the economic alliance with Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus, Uzbekistan, and other states of the Commonwealth, meaning: a) close relations between enterprises; b) the need for coordination of action in the sphere of raw material exports in order not to bring down prices on the world market; c) assurance of the transit of our freight to Europe and the Near East; d) the joint use of S&T centers and conversion; e) the use of trade missions and the overseas apparatus of the former USSR.

2. **Asia-Pacific Region:** Beijing-Seoul-Tokyo with an outlet to other countries of the Southeast Asia. This direction is of great significance as a region of advanced technology and a source of credit with the possibility of large-scale investments, and in the future, as a market for the sale of our products and the attraction of manpower for the realization of a number of projects in Kazakhstan.

3. **Asian:** The main attention will be paid to Turkey as a potential sales market and an example of the development of the market economy. Cooperation with countries of the Arab East and anterior Asia for the attraction of investments in the economy.

4. **European:** Priority attention will be paid to the FRG, which is most ready to invest in the CIS. Thanks to the presence of a substantial German diaspora, large-scale cooperation with Kazakhstan is possible. In addition, the economic model of the FRG is more attractive for us. Cooperation with the EEC for obtaining technical assistance and credit for the purpose of the development of the infrastructure and personnel training. Interaction with countries of East Europe will be maintained in a number of sectors.

5. **American:** The main attention will be paid to the United States as the world's leading economic power. Relations with Mexico and other Latin American countries are very promising.

Activity in international organizations: the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, other organizations of the United Nations, GATT, the International Civil Aviation Organization, and unions of exporters of individual types of raw material, represents a separate very important sphere.

It will be necessary, as first steps, for the realization of the strategic goals in the sphere of foreign economic relations:

—to devise a program of structural transformations of the republic's economy for the purpose of the creation of a complete complex and the surmounting of the raw material focus, subordinating to this task all activity in the sphere of foreign economic relations. It is essential to create complete production engineering complexes with delivery of the finished product and to accomplish the long-standing task of a switch from the extensive development of the extractive sectors to the use of new technology, primarily the processing of dumps and waste and the utmost development of intensive agriculture and light and food industry for both saturation of the domestic market and for an increase in export potential. We may in these sectors and industries more easily and rapidly realize what are our main advantages at this time—the relative cheapness of the manpower and the availability of the raw material;

—to complete the reform of the banking system with a strengthening of the role of the National State Bank as the regulator of monetary circulation and the creation of proper market-type commercial banks. To establish a state export-import bank for extending credit for exports, a development bank for the accumulation of revenue from exports of raw material and its redistribution, and institutions for insuring foreign trade deals and export credit; to organize the activity of representatives of Kazakhstan on financial markets overseas;

—to improve the system of state regulation and organization of state authorities in the sphere of foreign economic relations and to make it simple, controllable, and comprehensible for foreign partners with a clear distribution of functions and responsibility between the government itself, its departments, local authorities, and enterprises;

—to create a foreign investments commission and agency and organize work on verification of the creditworthiness of foreign firms moving onto our market. These bodies are intended to make an expert appraisal of all major investment projects and coordinate the use of foreign credit, inasmuch as it is all being given as yet only on the strength of government guarantees; to create a system of notification of both foreign investors of our possibilities and of our enterprises of current proposals;

—to enact laws on mineral resources and unfair competition and make revisions, dictated by practice, to laws on foreign investments and concessions and also to the Civil Code; to conclude with our main partners agreements on mutual investment guarantees and the avoidance of dual taxation. To determine the departments responsible for the execution of national legislation in this sphere and to monitor it rigorously;

—to establish our own system of patent and licensing work and to subscribe to international agreements for the protection of intellectual property of both Kazakhstani organizations and for guarantees of the protection of the intellectual property of foreign individuals and corporations;

—to adopt a state program of personnel training in all the main areas of foreign economic relations.

It is understandable that in expressing an aspiration to integration with the world community we are prepared to recognize the evolved instruments of coordination of international economic strategies. It is important, however, that this happen not by way of economic and political pressure compelling us to act in each individual instance in deference to the strong and to the detriment of ourselves, but on the basis of a fair balance of mutual interests.

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The specifics of Kazakhstan amount to the fact that it possesses the features of both a developed country (universal literacy, an extensive network of research institutions and space research) and a developing country (the raw material focus of the economy, the environmental pollution of many regions, the need for foreign investments and new technology imports, and the lagging of the infrastructure). Together with this, hyperterritoriality, an intracontinental location, huge resources of natural resources and a motley ethnic composition of the population.

The sum total of all this determines our place in the world community and the strategy of the formation and development of Kazakhstan as a sovereign national state for the most complex transitional period. If the people of Kazakhstan realize this strategy, our republic will occupy an authoritative position on the geopolitical map of Eurasia.

Understanding the seriousness of our strategic intentions, I, as head of state, have endeavored not to set impossible tasks and not to go beyond the framework of realistic anticipation, however much I would like to do so for the sake of Kazakhstan and its people. All that has been said is perfectly attainable if everyone takes what has been set forth as his own program and as his duty to his near ones and dear ones and to the generations which will come to replace us.

Kyrgyztan

Akayev on Republic Approach to Land Reform

92US0504A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 May 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev by Otto Latsis; place and date not given: "Land Reform: The Kyrgyz Version"]

[Text] **For many years now land reform has been both the great hope and the stumbling block for all economic reform in Russia. But what is the situation in the other republics of the former Union? Kyrgyzstan's experience is discussed by President Askar Akayev.**

[Latsis] Askar Akayevich, after your ukase proclaiming mandatory reorganization of unprofitable and less profitable farms the peasants in some places voluntarily liquidated highly profitable kolkhozes as well. In Tonskiy Rayon near Issyk Kul I met the renowned shepherd Tashtanbek Akmatov, whom you know well. If one wanted to, one could easily imagine him as the standard bearer of the kolkhoz system: twice Hero of Socialist Labor, he was the chairman of the Presidium of the

Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz SSR and a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet. But he was the one who was the initiator of the creation of the peasant farm, which was essentially a small cooperative separated out from a large association, into which they were trying to transform the kolkhoz. He told me: The peasant on the kolkhoz does not work with his heart—the chairman thinks and makes decisions for him. One gets the impression that the real peasant is a hard-working and creative person who will try at his first opportunity to rid himself first of all of the system of coercion which the kolkhoz structure has become.

[Akayev] Tashtanbek Akmatovich really is an outstanding individual—not only in terms of his professional mastery but also in terms of his human qualities. After the high political posts he has held he could live a peaceful and abundant life in his home in Bishkek. He is once again a leader of a sheep farm. It seems to me that his judgments about the shortcomings of the kolkhoz system are fair. But there are also other sides to this issue. Our main criteria in our approach to agrarian transformations is their practical results. We try to avoid any kind of ideologization. Whether it is the old, kolkhoz-sovkhoz kind, which in words was collective and fair but in reality was most often crudely bureaucratic, or whether it is the latest model, which in words is very democratic but in reality is sometimes just as bureaucratic or simply adventuristic. Of course, the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system has proved its unsoundness quite plainly, but today our state is trying not to jump prematurely on the side of either the individual or the collective forms. Our goal is to liberate the work of the peasant, his creative potential. How this should be done can be seen most clearly by the peasant himself. And it is a matter for the state to support the farm that is the most productive.

Agrarian production is linked more than any other to natural conditions, and they are extraordinarily diverse. Only the person who is working the land himself can decide correctly which approach is needed. For instance, in Omsk Oblast there is a kolkhoz where they raise industrial crops—tobacco and cotton. A plan was "sent down" to them to produce milk, they produced it on large farms which operated at a loss. Now they have chosen land and created 18 farmer-run farms. I visited one farm family who have been running the farm for only two years, and I was struck by the fact that their dairy farm is every bit as good as a Canadian farm I visited recently, the cleanliness and the automation, and everything else.

This family was assigned 15 hectares of land on which they produce feed: They do not receive it from the state. This year they intend to harvest 120 quintals per hectare of corn for grain. They keep 60 head of cattle including the young. The whole family works—there is plenty for both the parents and the children to do. They took out a loan at first. Now they have paid it back and are working for profit. Milk is produced at a loss on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes; we subsidize it. The state buys milk from them at 5 rubles [R] and sells it for less. They say that this is not enough and want the procurement price to be increased to R10. The farmer sells the milk at R3.5 and makes a profit.

This farmer was the first; others have not gotten on their feet yet and still have to catch up with him. But on the whole when the kolkhoz separated out these 18 farms it was as though they created an additional large dairy farm. It preserved its own kolkhoz farm but the individual farms with smaller herds produce more milk and with less expense. The kolkhoz has remained because it would be disadvantageous to divide it up into smaller units for the production of tobacco and cotton.

[Latsis] How was it decided who should be given their own farms and who should not?

[Akayev] It was decided at a general meeting at which there was a kind of competition for who could be trusted with land and livestock. They all said: Ismail-ake can be trusted. He is very proud to be the first person the meeting trusted to become a farmer. He has a large family, children, and many grandchildren. He says: When I was a kolkhoz worker I half starved. What I could earn was not enough. Now everyone has something to do.

It also happens sometimes that they decide to divide up the kolkhoz property randomly: Each person gets the same amount. But then some people preserve the herd while others immediately take it to the bazaar to sell it and have no intention of working on the land. This takes skill, people are born shepherds. We are fighting against this kind of division.

Here in Tonskiy Rayon one kolkhoz was transformed into a... kolkhoz. Into a real cooperative such as the kolkhozes were intended to be at one time but never became.

In this cooperative they determined the contribution of each individual—how he had worked and how many years he had worked. Depending on this, each person receives a share of the overall income in the form of dividends. This cooperative has been in existence for approximately a year. They have purchased their own equipment, purchased brokers seats in Moscow, they have brought in timber from Siberia in exchange for meat and wool, and the timber is being sold to the neighboring rayons. They have organized their own store—goods come from all over the world. Previously there were almost 30 specialists here—now nine people handle everything. They have been assigned a modest payment, 1.5 percent of the income, and at the end of the year they ended up with R300,000 per specialist.

[Latsis] In Keminskiy Rayon I was impressed by one farmer who had received land only a year ago—Yesengul Isakov. He is like a volcano of entrepreneurial energy. With people like this and methods like this one cannot but think about the future. The land has been given to them for life and it can be passed on to their children, but they do not have full ownership. Is this basis reliable? How do you feel about disputes about full ownership of the land and division of the land?

[Akayev] I have listened to people who work on the land, including Tashtanbek Akmatov. They are convinced that the land should be given to them to own. But the deputies have not decided to do this. We are forbidden to sell the land by the latest law. But I have seen the conviction in the farmers.

[Latsis] Do you think there should be complete private ownership of the land in the future?

[Akayev] I support that idea. I see that the mood of the peasants favors it. The leaders, particularly in the middle level, are skeptical and suspicious of land reform. But simple peasants need certainty, this is a simple matter for them.

[Latsis] And industrial workers? A capitalist will not build an enterprise on land that does not belong to him.

[Akayev] Of course not.

[Latsis] But this is an economic and social problem for Russia. And in your case even more.

[Akayev] Oh! We have a third side as well. If you start to turn over the land, the national question arises. It has already appeared here. At one time the Kyrgyz were crowded out from the irrigated land. And irrigated land is the most valuable.

[Latsis] Out of production considerations the land should be given to the people who work it. But if the best land in Kyrgyzstan is turned over for full ownership, say, to Uzbeks—this could provoke conflicts.

[Akayev] Of course, there is a great danger here. We are taking the evolutionary path, we are in no hurry. In the immediate future we are planning for the reform to extend to only 20 percent of the land—not just irrigated land but 20 percent of all land. This is quite enough for five years. We have come to the conclusion that we are in a position to organize 70,000-80,000 peasant farms, and foreign specialists who have come here say that is enough for the next 10-15 years. We still have to help them. This means we must proceed from the state's financial capabilities. Therefore, during the first year—we began last year—we earmarked about 1,000 farms to provide with credit, seeds, and equipment. We organized 600. We have not set the task of necessarily completing what we have planned. This year we included approximately 12,000. Various forms of farms are appearing. We do not think we need to develop any one particular form. We operate taking specific features into account. On one kolkhoz it is tobacco—this is a state monopoly—but cotton takes up the whole kolkhoz. Leasing forms are used there. The situation is different with milk production. We had in mind creating a land fund in which we would include unused and unattractive land. We took land for dairy farms from here. We shall see in the fall how many farms we will create next year; our task now is to harvest the crops. At a session of the Supreme Soviet our kolkhoz chairman complained about the difficulties. We made concessions and raised the procurement prices for milk—we gave them a subsidy. We raised the price of wheat in order to harvest the crop. Now they are happier and are working. The mood has improved on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. I say that at the same time we must promote the establishment of individual peasant farms. We have organized for the farmers an agricultural exchange and an agricultural business center for the introduction of agricultural technologies. We have turned only 159,000 hectares over to them so far, which is less than one percent of the land. Only 30,000 of these hectares are irrigated. We shall see in the autumn what their contribution from these 30,000 hectares will be. As for industrial crops, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes can handle these, especially in the south where interethnic problems arise. There, apparently, we will not divide up the land in the near future. I tell the agrarians: For God's sake, if there are strong kolkhozes and sovkhozes we should contribute to preserving them. There are such farms—Bazhan's, Lakman's, Bekker's. Let there be competition, let the peasants decide.

Lauds Success of Private Farms

LD0106205492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 May 92

[Announcer-read report from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Krygzstan President Askar Akayev said on 30 May that produce handed over to the government by Kyrgyz farmers costs half as much as state produce and does not require state subsidies. Akayev hopes that with government support for private farming that as early as next year family enterprises will be able to provide the country with produce.

Suspends Agrarian Reform

OW0106195592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1839 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the conference of the Republic's farmers this Monday [1 June], President Askar Akayev declared "a temporary suspension of the land reform until the end of harvesting". He assured the farmers that the government had not abandoned its policy oriented at promoting the development of farm economies, emphasizing its expressed intent to support the entrepreneurs working on land. We are convinced that no one else but the farmers are will succeed in leading the Republic out of the agricultural crisis and filling our food market, he emphasized.

As of present, the Republic's 13 thousand farms, admittedly, are not enough. In alluding to the experts' assessment, he pointed out that at least 80,000 farms are needed to satisfy the Republic's needs in food products.

"We have everything—the will, the opportunities, and the legislation to attain this level," he asserted. The President, however, expressed concern over some of excessively radical approaches to this subject and certain indiscreet attempts at accelerating the reform which, in his opinion, could dramatically aggravate the problems of national relations and spur up the unemployment.

In commenting on one of the farmers' remarks, Mr. Akayev conceded, in terms of an experiment, to endow the Republic's one or two regions with the right to private ownership of land, and expressed his preparedness to issue a conformable decree to this effect in the near future.

Defense Official on Jurisdiction of Forces

PM0206131192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jun 92 p 1

[Report by Colonel A. Ladin: "Kyrgyzstan's Position in Military Building Field Remains Unchanged. But Troops on Republic's Territory Have Been Taken Under its Jurisdiction"]

[Text] Bishkek—This decree has been signed by Askar Akayev. At our correspondent's request the event is commented on by Major General Kubychbek Orazbayev, first deputy chairman of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan State Committee for Defense Affairs:

"Despite the fact that by the Kyrzygstan president's decree all units and institutions on the republic's territory have been taken under its jurisdiction, Kyrgyzstan will not create its own armed forces. The decree instructs the State Committee for Defense Affairs to coordinate with the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command the list of units and institutions assigned to the Strategic Forces.

In the future there will be a gradual, step by step reduction of the troops stationed in Kyrgyzstan with a transition to the maintenance and training only of a troop reserve [voyskovyy rezerv] and personnel in the reserve.

Armenia

Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet Begins 2 Jun

MK0306135092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 92 p 3

[NEGA report under the "Nagorno-Karabakh" rubric: "Session Opens in Stepanakert. Question of Leaders Remains Open"]

[Text] A Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet session started 2 June in Stepanakert. The session was attended by 49 of the 61 deputies. After the living had honored the memory of their dead colleagues, acting Supreme Soviet chairman Georgiy Petrosyan spoke about the work of the government commission investigating the death of Artur Mkrtchyan, first chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet. He said that there are still no definitive conclusions, since the results of the examination are not ready. The session's agenda was adopted with more than 20 questions on it, including laws on the fundamental principles of Nagorno-Karabakh state independence, defense and the militia, and the approval of government personnel. Deputies voted to defer until the next session the question of renaming Stepanakert and moving the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's capital to Shusha.

Georgiy Petrosyan delivered a report on the political situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and Leonard Petrosyan, former chairman of the former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Oblast Soviet Executive Committee and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic parliamentary deputy, then asked his colleagues to listen to Armenia's representatives before electing the parliament's chairman and his first deputy. This suggestion was accepted. Then Babken Ararktsyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and Armenian Defense Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan, who were taking part in the session's work, addressed a closed session. They presented the Armenian leadership's view of political, economic, military, and other questions of concern to Karabakh.

Georgiy Petrosyan, the incumbent head of parliament from the Dashnaktsutyun Party, and Robert Kocharyan of the Armenian Pannational Movement may be possible candidates for the post.

Petrosyan Addresses Assembly

LD0306205292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0725 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 3 Jun (TASS)—Our position remains the same. We can negotiate with Azerbaijan only on an equal footing. Nagorno-Karabakh is just as sovereign as Azerbaijan, Georgiy Petrosyan, speaker of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic told participants at a meeting of the Karabakh parliament which opened in Stepanakert Tuesday, 2 June.

Touching on relationships between the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, Petrosyan noted there were substantial difficulties in official relations between the two sides due to the unstable political situation in the neighboring republic. He believes that forces prepared for a constructive dialogue have still not come forward in Baku.

"On the contrary," Petrosyan said, "we are compelled to acknowledge that nationalistic forces are now assuming power in Azerbaijan. This, as perceived in Stepanakert, may further complicate our relations." At the same time, he noted the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities are maintaining some telephone contacts with the leadership of Azerbaijan and its representatives on exchanges of hostages, cease-fire, and current problems.

The leadership of the Karabakh parliament, Petrosyan added, is not ceasing its diplomatic activity aimed at a political settlement of the conflict. In his estimation, the closest work has been carried out with representatives of Iran, "whose leadership has sought intensive intermediary activity in the region." He noted the importance of "intensive contacts and talks" with CSCE representatives who have assumed responsibility for the organization and conduct of an international conference on the Karabakh problem. Petrosyan said recognition that any talks without representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh are devoid of any prospects constitutes "definite and significant success."

Petrosyan stressed the special importance of relations between the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and Armenia. He noted the importance of their policies for the future of the Armenian people.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1309 GMT on 3 June carries a similar report and adds the following: "Acting Chairman of the parliament of Nagorno-Karabakh Georgiy Petrosyan, noted that as a result of combat operations carried out by the Armenian self-defence forces, 'we have evolved into a definite military, not only political force'.

["In the afternoon June 2, the parliament held a closed session which was addressed by representatives of Armenia, among them Chairman of the Armenian parliament Babken Ararktsyan, and Defence Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan, who set forth their position on the Karabakh problem. According to unofficial reports, Ararktsyan and Sarkisyan tried to persuade the deputies to accept Yerevan's position. Yerevan believes that Nagorno-Karabakh might stay in Azerbaijan in exchange for certain guarantees of its existence."]

Parliament Fails To Elect Speaker

LD0306193492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1815 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 3 TASS—The parliament of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh has adjourned until Thursday [4 June] after it failed to elect a new parliamentary speaker on Wednesday [3 June].

Neither of the two candidates received the required number of votes. Acting parliamentary speaker Georgiy Petrosyan received 30 votes during the first voting and 26 at the second stage. His rival Robert Kocharyan, former party boss of the local industrial association Karshelkombinat, received 23 and 27 votes respectively.

Petrosyan is a member of the opposition party of Armenia, while Kocharyan affiliates himself with the ruling Armenian National Movement.

Nagorno-Karabakh Electricity, Phones Restored

LD030618079 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The electricity supply to Nagorno-Karabakh has been restored. Telephone and telegraph lines have also been restored. The lines have been laid through Lachinskiy Rayon, and they link Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia.

Deposed Azerbaijani President Returns to Baku

NC0306134992 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1200 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY reports that Grad mounts and artillery were used to shell Karachinar village in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon early on today. The shelling caused destruction. [passage indistinct] Grad mounts were used to shell Akhbulakh village in Gadrutskiy Rayon, where one person was killed and [words indistinct] were wounded. The news agency reports no large-scale clashes in the border regions last night.

AVRASIA news agency reports that recently deposed Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov returned to Baku on 28 May. Now his supporters are [passage indistinct]. The news agency adds that the [word indistinct] cooperation with Russia and [words indistinct] arising out of the Nagorno-Karabakh (?problem) have put the Azerbaijani People's Front in a difficult position.

Official on Withdrawal of Russian Troops

OW0406123692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1025 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The decision to withdraw Russian troops from Armenia does not signify their immediate pullout. This was stressed by the head of the press service of the Armenian Defence Ministry Gegam Arutyunyan. If troops had been removed overnight, this would not meet the interests of Armenia. The official said the borders of the republic are presently guarded by the 7th army.

Still the withdrawal has begun. The 15th division of the 7th army is leaving Kirovakan. No incidents related to the pullout are reported. The process is to end in two to three years. Armenia regards the presence of Russian troops as a diplomatic and political as well as military shield.

UN Representative Views Issues, Turkey's Role

NC0406093392 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 31 May 92 p 4

[Report by Cengiz Toprak]

[Text] Gasan Gasanov, former Azerbaijani prime minister and Azerbaijan's current permanent UN representative, said that the internal political disputes and related incidents in his country will end soon.

Gasanov, with whom we met at his temporary room at the United Nations, said that a strong Azerbaijan cannot be created without Turkey's strong support. In noting that Azerbaijan's internal disputes are transitory and that the nation has to keep in step with the world, Gasanov said: "It goes without saying that opposing views will exist. After all, that atmosphere is necessary for the democracy we want to attain."

The Azerbaijani official said that he also met with President Ozal and that their views coincide on every issue. Gasanov said that since his arrival in the United States, our permanent UN representative, Mustafa Akin, and TRNC [Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus] Representative Ertug, have been very supportive.

Vice Premier Promotes Foreign Investment

OW0306182192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian vice-premier Grant Bagratyan says the republic's industrial potential is given a further boost by joint ventures creating tens of thousands of new jobs. He told IF [INTERFAX] that private business in Armenia had livened up after representatives of the Armenian diaspora showed interest in cooperating with local businessmen.

The private sector is creating more jobs than the state sector, said the deputy prime minister. One main reason is the government halted investment in the manufacturing sector having to channel almost all available funds to back up social security programmes instead.

Bagratyan believes that despite the imperfections of economic legislation there is some legal framework for private business and investment. But he is sure of the need for some corrections to be made in government taxation policy and more radical reform.

The vice-premier believes subjective political reasons are largely behind the economic recession calling for greater foreign investment. In this connection, he praised the results of a recent business forum in Yerevan held between May 22 and 25, saying it helped enlarge the number of Armenian emigres wanting to cooperate with local entrepreneurs. The forum is to set up its permanent head office in the Armenian capital.

Bagratyan said the new law on the protection of foreign investment, now under discussion, could help improve the legal basis for the operation by joint ventures.

Azerbaijan

Additional Powers Granted to Internal Ministry

OW0306133992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The acting Azeri President Isa Kamberov granted additional powers to the republican Internal Ministry. His decree which was announced in Baku on Wednesday [3 June] says that "due to the tense situation in the republic, to the escalation of aggression on the part of the Armenian armed forces, and to the need of the disarmament of the unlawfully formed detachments" the government passed this decree. According to this document, the internal departments' chiefs have the right of the administrative arrest of citizens for 30 days for their insubordination to the militia men, and non-fulfillment of their lawful demands and instructions.

Besides in accordance with the decree, the internal departments' employees can conduct unauthorized searches at the working places and in the flats of people, who have fire-guns [as received] and other weapons, and to fulfil a private search of the people who are suspected to unlawfully store weapons.

Militia men and the employees of the state automobile inspection will verify and look through the cargos and transportation vehicles.

The decree envisages conducting of search in the buildings, constructions, military units' depots deployed on the Azeri territory if the authorities have at their disposal a substantially "verified information on the storage and sale of weapons by the servicemen without a special permission."

The decree is effective beginning May 28 for a month.

Further Decrees Issued

OW0306180092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishin; transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] The acting president of Azerbaijan, Isa Kamberov, has issued a number of decrees published on Wednesday [4 June] to re-shuffle and update government structures. One decree giving wider powers to the interior ministry is caused by what it describes as internal tension, mounting aggression by the Armenian armed forces, and the need to disarm illicitly-set up units. The heads of interior ministry departments are now entitled to order detentions up to four weeks for disobedience and failure to comply with police instructions or demands. [passage omitted]

Experts say that apart from its declared motifs, the decree was issued to guarantee law and order during presidential elections due on Sunday [7 June].

One other decree orders district and city authorities to set up the job of a civil defence officer who is also accountable to the head of the republic's civil defense.

Mr. Kamberov has also ordered for the establishment of a foreign trade ministry on the basis of the existing foreign trade committee and the government committee for economics and planning in order to enhance state control and ensure Azerbaijan's interests in foreign trade. One of the cabinet officials, Mr. Hafiz Babayev, himself an economist, was put in charge of the new ministry.

Mr Kamberov has abolished on the grounds of inefficiency the supreme inspection commission under the president's office which was designed to monitor the execution of presidential decrees and set up by ex-president Ayaz Mutalibov. Inspection is to be handled by the state secretary and government aides instead.

In a string of cabinet re-shuffles, the chairman of the supreme attestation commission, Rauf Ismailov, was dismissed from his job for what is described as transfer to a new post.

Mr. Ismailov is a member of parliament, and despite the decree's delicate wording, many link his removal to the active support he gave to Mr. Mutalibov's return to presidency.

Mamedov Appointed Deputy Prime Minister

NC0306142992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Isa Kamberov, acting president and Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet chairman, has issued a decree appointing Ershad Mamed ogly Mamedov as deputy prime minister. Rodayev was relieved of his responsibilities as deputy prime minister; he has been transferred to another post.

Heads of Masally, Dzhelalabad Rayons Replaced

NC0306145092 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Isa Kamberov, acting president and Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet chairman, has issued a decree appointing Iltifat Rakhimov as head of the Masally Rayon Executive Authority. Rakhim Nuriyev, who was relieved of the position, has been appointed head of the Dzhelalabad Rayon Executive Authority. Bagirov, who previously held the position, has been relieved of his responsibilities and appointed elsewhere.

Reshuffle in Armed Forces, Situation Viewed

MK0206141692 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 92 p 1

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report under "Azerbaijan" rubric: "Political Confrontation Weakens Army. People's Front Decides To Restore Order"]

[Text] An order issued by acting president Isa Kamberov signed 29 May instructs the Gyandzha emergency defense committee to disband by 1 June. Gyandzha's acting authorities were ordered to hand over the emergency committee's property, arms, and combat hardware to Azerbaijan's defense department. The Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] press service reports that Isa Kamberov's order was carried out on schedule.

As announced, Major General Shakhin Musayev, first deputy defense minister and chief of General Staff, was earlier relieved of his post for mistakes committed. Lieutenant General Valekh Barshadly was appointed to this post at the acting president's behest.

The cadre reshuffles in the armed forces command will quite possibly continue. If APF leader Elbulfez Elchibey wins the presidential election, incumbent defense minister Rakhim Gaziyev may quite possibly not find himself included in the new Azerbaijani Government. The disagreements that have emerged over the last two months between Rakhim Gaziyev and the APF leadership over the impending presidential elections and military organizational development have weakened military discipline within the National Army. APF self-defense detachments, for instance, have not been obeying the defense department, but carrying out the orders of the front's local branches. OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] formations led by the minister of internal affairs have been operating separately from National Army subunits. In this situation there has been an increase in the number of new recruits who desert. That is why, on coming to power, the APF leadership set about strengthening discipline in the armed forces. APF Deputy Chairman Iskander Gamidov, who favors a tough line in military organizational development and has been appointed minister of internal affairs, has tried to disarm a whole series of illegal armed formations. In particular, extremists from the pro-Islamic "Tovba" group were arrested for illegally storing weapons. A special entry and exit system has been introduced in the republic and Ministry of Internal Affairs personnel have been given the right to search suspects and examine automobiles. Military censorship has been introduced in the mass media.

Law Adopted on Political Parties

LD0306214792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] A law has been adopted in Azerbaijan on political parties. It ensures that all political forces can participate in the forthcoming elections with full rights. The president and all high-ranking state officials cannot be members of any party, the ASSA-IRADA agency has reported.

7 Jun Presidential Candidates Profiled

OW0206193892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1912 GMT 2 Jun 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Less than a week remains before June 7, the day the presidential election is scheduled for in Azerbaijan. We are planning to give a regular covering of this final period in the election campaign.

On April 27 the Central Electoral Commission registered seven candidates. One of them, Etibar Mamedov, one of the founders of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan and today leader of the National Independence Party, has had his name taken off the list of candidates.

IF [INTERFAX] note: The decision to hold a new presidential election was taken by the parliament, controlled by the the ex-communist power elite, after it had accepted President Ayaz Mutalibov's resianation in March. All major political forces are involved in the election campaign. According to the results of public opinion polls, Ebulfez Elchibey, the Popular Front leader and its candidate, enjoys considerable popularity among the population and apparently stands the best chance of winning the election.

The other candidates are Tamerlan Garayev, first deputy chairman of the parliament and ex-chairman of the Popular Front Medjlis, Yakub Mamedov, ex-chairman of the parliament, Ilyas Ismailov, Minister of Justice, Nizami Suleymanov, a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan and a candidate of the Association of Democratic Forces, and, finally, Rafik Abdullayev, a National Democratic Group candidate.

Both according to experts' opinion and poll results, Rafik Abdullayev stands the lowest chance. In his own words, the post of chief engineer in one of the factories in Sumgayit was the "peak in his career." He claims he was persecuted by the KGB in the '60s and '70s for his political activities, but very few people knew anything about him before he was nominated candidate. He has no job at the moment, although he describes himself as a "Jack of all trades," and says he keeps his family going by doing odd jobs. Journalists have remarked with some irony that the fact that such a person should stand for President was at least an evidence of the democratic character of the campaign.

IF note: Rafik Abdullayev was born in 1946. He is a graduate of the Sumgayit branch of the Azeri Institute of Oil and Chemistry. He worked at various industrial enterprises in Sumgayit, both as an ordinary factory hand as an engineer. In 1967 Abdullayev was arrested by the KGB for "illegal political activity" and was in custody for a while but was soon released because his guilt had not been proved. He is married and has a son. The main points in his program are strong government, the solution of the Western Azerbaijan problem, and putting an end to the aggression against the republic (although he has given no details on the latter point). He recognizes the individual's right to private property and is an advocate of market economics. In his opinion, that part of all property in Azerbaijan which has a national significance should be nationalized, and the rest privatized. He also believes a new parliamentary election is necessary, held on a multi-party basis.

According to poll results, Minister of Justice Ilyas Ismailov has little reason for optimism too, although it may be too early now to draw any definitive conclusions. After Mutalibov had come to power in January 1990 Ismailov had to leave his post of Prosecutor of the Republic and moved to Moscow, where he was put at the head of a department in the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR.

Ismailov's program makes it obvious that he regards the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the forming of national armed forces and the solution of the refugee problem at the government level as the main problems facing Azerbaijan today.

As far as his economic principles go, he believes all enterprises should be quite independent but thinks privatization should be frozen until the Nagorno-Karabakh and refugee problems are solved. He also intends to take measures to ensure that legislative bodies, executive bodies, and the courts have strictly assigned functions. He promises to provide security for the Russian-speaking population and all other ethnic minorities in the republic.

IF note: Ilyas Ismailov was born in 1938 and is a graduate of the law department of the Azeri University. He held posts in the civil service and the Communist Party. He was Prosecutor of the Republic in 1985-90 and department head in the USSR Prosecutor's Office from June 1990 to April 1992. He was appointed Minister of Justice of Azerbaijan in April 1992.

Ismailov is a Doctor of Law and chairman of the Movement for Democratic Reforms in Azerbaijan. He is married and has two sons.

Independence Party's Mamedov Out of Race

OW0206105392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Azerbaijan the leader of the National Independence Party Etibar Mamedov has dropped from the presidential race. He said it is a mistake to hold presidential elections at a time when a considerable part of the country's territory is actually occupied. At this critical moment the country could be effectively governed by a coalition cabinet of all political forces.

Etibar Mamedov sharply criticized the cooperation of the Popular Front [PF] which he helped to found with former CPSU bureaucrats and the general activities of the PF after it came to power. He denounced the latest statement of the acting president Isa Gambarov on the necessity of integrating Azerbaijan in CIS structures.

Etibar Mamedov could be the most serious rival to the PF presidential candidate Ebulfez Elchibey. This is confirmed by opinion polls in which Mamedov has the second rating after the PF chairman.

Six candidates will continue to run for presidency in the Sunday [7 June] elections.

Elchibey: Iran To 'Pay' for Armenian Support

NC0206092192 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 28 May 92 p 13

[Report on an interview with Azerbaijani People's Front, APF, leader Ebulfez Elchibey by Murat Arvas; place and date not given]

[Text] Ebulfez Elchibey, the leader of Azerbaijani People's Front [APF], in a special interview with our newspaper spoke about Azerbaijan's future.

Elchibey stressed that following the unsuccessful coup attempt by Mutalibov the APF is gradually acquiring power and is in control of the state structures and parliament. He added that if he is elected in the 7 June elections his first job would be to revamp the state mechanism, render it operative, and wipe out bribery. These issues are related to the Karabakh and Armenian problems, he added. Elchibey noted that "there is still a powerful force in Azerbaijan in the person of Mutalibov and his supporters," and that this group "is lying in wait and is trying to bring about a civil war. We are not going to allow this to happen. They must realize that all their efforts are in vain. The APF is Azerbaijan's sole hope.

They did everything they could to destroy the APF but nothing could stand in the way of a popular movement. We won the struggle."

"We Will Call Him To Account"

Indicating that he is aware that profiteers, who believe that the APF will be in power soon, are trying to join it, the presidential candidate said: "I will wage a bitter struggle against them. I will take to court those who robbed the people and reduced them to this state. One person, whose name I will not give, has $17 million abroad. He must explain to us how he made so much money, otherwise we will call him to account."

In expressing his views on the country's economy and future prospects, Elchibey said that Azerbaijan is not benefiting from trade because the money received for the goods ends up in the hands of profiteers. The APF leader said: "I am not an expert in economics, but the fact is that the current form of trade is detrimental to the country. We cannot suddenly sever our ties with Russia; we have been linked economically for such a long time that such a move would hurt us. We will regulate these relations under a protocol. A speedy transition to privatization would be impossible, it might cause social upheaval. We will try to make that transition according to a program."

Iran's Policy is Despicable

Elchhibey commented on what policies he would follow regarding Iran if he is elected. He responded that he would do all he could to bring about the independence of his southern Azerbaijani compatriots [a reference to Turks living in the Iranian provinces of East Azerbaijan and West Azerbaijan], saying that they deserve the most basic democratic rights. "The 20 million Turks living in southern Azerbaijan do not even have one school. Iran's attempt to help us is not very convincing especially when you consider they deny the most basic rights to people living on their territory. In addition, we know that in our conflict with Armenia, they are supporting Armenia, albeit not explicitly. Iran will get an appropriate reply from us. It will pay for its hostile attitude. If I do not pay them back, my leadership and reputation [beylik] will be impugned."

Supreme Soviet Decision on Radar Station

PM2905113992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 May 92 p 1

[Major A. Ivanov report: "There Is a Danger That the CIS Joint Armed Forces Will Be Left in the Near Future Without A Space Monitoring System"]

[Text] The Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on the Gabelinskiy missile-attack early-warning system radar station. A large commission of scientists and medics (for some reason not a single military specialist is included) has been set up to establish, the document says, the degree and volume of the damage inflicted by the radar station's activity on the republic's economy and environment.

Our correspondent was informed at the Air Defense Troops Main Headquarters that the Gabelinskiy radar station is one of eight over-the-horizon surveillance system facilities, and is designed for the timely detection of ballistic missile strikes from a southerly direction, and for tracking spacecraft. The radar station is a fairly complex installation from a technical point of view.

However, one thing is already perfectly clear today—if the thoughtless destruction of radar stations is extended, air defense will be left without a unique space monitoring system.

Nakhichevan's Aliyev on Developments, Aid

NC0206125892 Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 27 May 92 p 9

["Exclusive" interview with Nakhichevan Supreme Majlis Chairman Geydar Aliyev by CUMHURIYET correspondent Esat Pala in Nakhichevan; date not given]

[Text] [Pala] Is the level of Turkish aid to the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR] satisfactory?

[Aliyev] We have not asked Turkey to give us arms. We want Turkey to be on our side, that is enough for us. Turkey has already done its duty. The Turks have not given [military] aid to the NAR but we are dependent on Turkey. According to the Kars Treaty, Turkey has a right over the NAR which it must not forget.

[Pala] You have imposed a unilateral cease-fire, but the Armenians have failed to respond in kind. What will happen next? When will the war end?

[Aliyev] I want the fighting to end today; however, the Armenians wish to maintain the war. I have tried everything to end the war but have failed. Our martyrs have remained on the Mil hilltop. That is our land. We are unable to retrieve our martyrs from the heights. The Armenians are firing on us relentlessly. Armenia wants to enter our country. They have entered Karabakh, now they want the NAR.

[Pala] You have said that the exchange of fire has diminished. However, violent clashes are taking place, particularly in the Sadarak region every day. The NAR militia units are being killed. How can you explain this situation?

[Aliyev] The clashes diminished after I conferred with President Ter-Petrosyan by telephone during the weekend. They held their fire, and so did we. Only automatic weapons were heard. I informed my people that the situation was calm and that we were moving toward a cease-fire.

[Pala] The militia of the popular front have accused you of failing to deal with the people and the war.

[Aliyev] The Popular Front wants to provoke the people. We support peace, but they are convinced that their objectives can be achieved through the use of force.

The fact that each and every war has its own system and order must not be forgotten. The president's duty is to protect his people and guarantee their security. The popular front has accused me of concealing information on the war and developments from the people. That is a lie. We have not concealed anything. On the contrary, several commanders, who are affiliated with the popular front, have failed to give us information.

[Pala] The NAR is currently suffering a food and fuel shortage. How will you solve this problem?

[Aliyev] Turkey is the country which helps us the most. I am in constant touch with Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and other officials. We expect Turkey to send foodstuffs very soon. We have been mostly worried by Iran's impartial stand on the war. We share a common history with the Iranians and we are brothers in religion. I have conferred with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and complained to him. Iran has recently sent two truck loads of provisions to the NAR.

[Pala] Reports indicate that several Kurds and Kurdish Workers Party militants are fighting against the militia units in Azerbaijan.

[Aliyev] I have not received any information in that regard. I am aware, however, that the Armenians are purchasing arms from the Russians and using them in the war. We do not have modern arms. We are fighting with automatic weapons only.

Nakhichevan Leader Arrives in Ankara 1 Jun

LD0206194192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0746 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] Ankara, 2 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Majlis, arrived in the Turkish capital on Monday, 1 June, at the invitation of Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel.

The Speaker of the Nakhichevan parliament, the newspaper CUMHURIYET noted, stated that the Armenian side is continuing mass attacks upon populated areas in the Autonomous Republic in violation of the cease-fire agreement. In his words, Armenian armed formations have actually opened up a second front in the rayon of Ordubad, subjecting it to artillery shelling.

G. Aliyev reported that he periodically communicates with the leaders of Armenia by telephone with a view to achieving a cease-fire. Touching upon the tense situation in the republic, the chairman of the Nakhichevan parliament reported that there is an acute shortage of foodstuffs and fuel, of which only three to four days' reserves are left.

G. Aliyev will take part in the national economic congress due to take place in Izmir.

$100 Million Loan Granted

LD0306063392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0545 GMT 3 Jun 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yalchin Ali-Zade]

[Text] Ankara, 3 June—A protocol on the procedure for the use of a loan granted to Nakhichevan by Turkey was signed on Tuesday [2 June] in the Turkish capital. The total sum of the loan is $100 million.

The document was signed by Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin and Geydar Aliyev, head of Nakhichevan's parliament. The latter arrived here at the invitation of Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel to take part in the work of the international economics congress being held in the city of Izmir.

During the meeting with G. Aliyev on Tuesday, according to a report from the ANATOLIA agency, S. Demirel said his country will do everything it can to boost the economy of Nakhichevan.

Aliyev Comments on New Bridge to Turkey

LD0206005792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Report by correspondent M. Mamedov, incorporating recorded comment by Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Mamedov] Numerous foreign journalists who attended the opening of a bridge between Azerbaijan and Turkey have noted the fact that citizens of the two states were able to freely visit each other for the first time in the last 70 years. No servicemen in green service caps could be seen anywhere around, and there was no sight of a usual watch tower and barbed wire.

Troops guarding considerable sections of the border with Iran and Turkey are leaving the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

[Aliyev] They are forced to leave because Ukrainians pull out from here and there have been significant cuts in border troop personnel. We are not driving them from here, in principle. We have never ever asked or insisted that they leave. The very processes which are taking place in the former Soviet Union and within the CIS lead to this. I think that borders will be different from what they used to be. You see, borders in Europe have almost no protection at all.

Western Azerbaijan Kurds Issue Autonomy Appeal

OW0106215992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kurds of Western Azerbaijan have called for the restoration of their autonomy, in which the "Kurds would be masters of their future, their land and their conscience". The appeal issued by a general conference of Kurdish communities of the Lachin district and delegates from Kurdish communities of the CIS was signed by the honorary chairman of the conference, Vasiliy Mustafayev. "IF" [INTERFAX] has received a copy of that document from an authoritative source in Yerevan.

The appeal says that a "historic moment" has come and that "we are on the threshold of the restoration of the Red Kurdistan we have dreamed of and fought for so long". It should be a "holy duty" of each Kurd to "defend one's home from the Azeri aggressor", the statement says. [

Georgia

Shooting Continues in S. Ossetia; Road Blocked

LD0306183392 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Report by IR-INFORM agency correspondent Irina Gukayeva]

[Text] The events in recent days in South Ossetia clearly show that meetings of the leadership and numerous protests and declarations are unable to bring the desired peace. With depressing consistency each day brings new reports of continuing shelling of Tskhinvali and other populated points in the republic.

Last night the town was once again subjected to a missile attack. Several dozen missiles were fired at housing areas. Villages in Tskhinval and Znauri rayons were also fired upon for a period of four hours. The shooting was carried out by Georgian combatant units located in the villages of (Nikosiki), Tamaresheni, and Mevgrekisi.

Conflicting reports are coming in about the withdrawal of the last bastion of the former Soviet Army—the Helicopter and Field Engineering Regiments stationed on the territory of South Ossetia. According to some reports they are still on the territory of South Ossetia under the protection of assault troops who, as is known, have been given the order to shoot anyone trying to seize arms.

Northern Ossetia is continuing the transport and fuel blockade which it has declared against Georgia. A vast number of vehicles—trucks and cars—have accumulated on the Georgian military highway. Transit passengers who are the innocent victims of the blockade assert that along the whole route across the territory of Georgia there is not a single sign indicating that the road is closed. State Automobile Inspection officials at their posts do not give warnings of this either. On the contrary, on the way out of Ananauri there is a sign saying that the pass is open. Some of the passengers have been waiting six or seven days. There have been cases of passengers' being robbed.

However, the blockade is continuing since, as events show, all other ways of defending the people are ineffective.

Officer Cited on 'Nationalization' of Equipment

LD0306184292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] A number of the mass media, including the Ostankino Television Company and Russian Television's "Vesti" program, recently disseminated reports about the Tskhinval authorities having nationalized the weapons and property of two Russian Army regiments stationed in that city—the engineering and sappers and the helicopter regiments.

This is what Colonel Vasiliy Belchenko, an assistant to the commander of the troops in the Transcaucasian military district for personnel work, stated to a Sakinform correspondent in connection with this: The helicopter regiment has not been touched by the so-called nationalization, which is, in actual fact, common robbery. Only the engineering and sappers regiment has suffered; Ossetian guerrillas have stolen a significant amount of vehicles and equipment from it. We are taking the most effective measures, right up to the use of force, to get back what was stolen. Some of the items already have been returned. Appropriate operations are being carried out so energetically that I can assure you that all of the equipment will soon be back with the regiment. The troops have been given orders to open fire if there is any attempt to seize military property.

The command of the military district has adopted an appeal to the Ossetian people that, in our view, should take effect and prevent further robberies and a further complication of the situation. One wonders when both of these Russian Army regiments will be withdrawn from Tskhinvali. It is premature to speak of specific dates. Issues of guaranteeing security and the evacuation of the families and personal property of the servicemen are being resolved at the moment.

Georgians of Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Protest

OW2905171992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 29 May 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] May 28 the Georgian faction of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet (autonomy in Georgia) laid off its powers as a protest against "the anti-constitutional and unilateral actions of the republican Supreme Soviet which ignores the opinion of the Georgian Deputies while passing resolutions", the agency "Sarke" reports. The same day the Deputy Chairman of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Tamaz Nadareishvili announced about his resignation.

Appeal Issued

MK2905145892 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 May 92 p 3

[NEGA report: "Abkhazia"]

[Text] Tamaz Nadareyshvili, first deputy chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, has addressed an appeal to Vladislav Ardzinbe, chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, saying among things that the main and decisive factor in the crisis in society is the activity of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. The author of the statement criticizes the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet chairman for "being prey to the narrow group interests of certain political forces in society which have nothing to do with the Abkhaz people's true aspirations." Nadareyshvili suggested that Ardzinbe should also resign. "I am sure," Tamaz Nadareyshvili writes, "that this will defuse the situaton and enable other forces in society to find the decisions which will ensure civic peace and interethnic accord in Abkhazia."

Disobedience Campaign Under Way

LD0406041992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Acts of civil disobedience are being carried out throughout the Republic of Abkhazia in response to the anti-Georgian, separatist, socioeconomic policies of the Abkhaz leadership and in particular of Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the Abkhaz parliament. Not one official of Georgian nationality in the government or the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia is currently going to work. Enterprises supporting the action are working as usual but are not paying their income into the state banks of the autonomous republic. The main demands of those taking part in the civil disobedience actions are the observance of legality and law and order by the Abkhaz authorities, abolition of all unconstitutional resolutions, resolution of all issues by nonviolent methods and mutual accords.

Due to the fact that the Abkhaz authorities do not justify the people's confidence, most of the population of the autonomous republic and the leaders of the action are raising the issue of the resignation of the entire Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers so new elections can be held. The organizers of the action think one of the main conditions for dialogue and for any talks is the withdrawal of the so-called internal troops, which are to all intents and purposes the Abkhaz Guard, from the sites where they are stationed, their confinement to barracks and their subsequent disbandment.

The Abkhaz Council of National Unity, set up at the first congress of representatives of the Georgian community, leads the action. The council is supported by more than 20 parties and political organizations operating in Abkhazia. At a meeting for journalists organized in this tense political situation by the Abkhaz Committee of National Unity, Boris Kokubava, who was authorized by the Georgian Defense Ministry, made a statement which is an ultimatum of sorts. If Vladislav Ardzinba, the chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, does not, in the near future, take decisive measures to meet the demands of the Georgian community, he stated, we will be compelled to take extreme protest measures. The Mekhedrioni Armed Forces, which I lead, will cut off the central highway, railroad and airport on the territory of Abkhazia. We have sufficient strength to put a stop to the revelry of the so-called Supreme Soviet Guard in Abkhazia as well, if the latter is not quickly disbanded. The Georgian population, which is constricted by it, makes this justifiable request. The Mekhedrioni will lay down their weapons if this guard is dissolved and disarmed.

New Information Bureau To Replace KGB

PM2805134692 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 May 92 First Edition p 7

[Correspondent David Mdivani report: "KGB Abolished"]

[Text] Not because during the December-January events this department's building burned down completely, along with all the files, costly equipment, and so forth, an information and intelligence bureau is to operate in the republic.

At a meeting with staffers of the former KGB's central apparatus, State Council Chairman E. Shevardnadze said this is not simply a change of label, but a radically changed, new service. Whereas formerly the KGB in effect stood in the path of the national liberation movement, the content of its activity has now changed fundamentally. Henceforth, the bureau is called upon to inform the state leadership and the public objectively about the processes taking place both inside and outside the state. And finally, it has been decided that unemployed chekists will be found jobs in other ministries and departments but it is not yet entirely clear what kind of work they will do there.

Cooperation Agreements Signed With Armenia

NC0406085092 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1850 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Armenia and Georgia have signed a number of agreements which envisage economic and technical cooperation in the following fields: pipelines, gas production, construction of gas installations, transit gas transportation, railway transportation, the supply of power to Armenia from Russia via the Georgian power grid, and the joint processing of (?crude) oil to meet the needs of the two countries.

The agreements were signed by the State Minister Ruben Chiftalaryan for Armenia and by [name indistinct], acting first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for Georgia.

Diplomatic Ties Established With Portugal

LD2305181992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1706 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Paris, May 23 ITAR-TASS—Portugal established full diplomatic relations with Armenia and Georgia today, according to FRANCE PRESS AGENCY with the reference to official sources in Lisbon.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro signed corresponding agreements with Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovannisian and his Georgian counterpart Aleksander Chikvadze who arrived in Lisbon to take part in the international conference on aid to the newly independent Commonwealth countries.

The ministers agreed to develop relations between their countries on the principles of mutual respect, sovereignty, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs, FRANCE PRESS AGENCY points out.

Estonia

Defense Minister Comments on Talks With Russia

OW0306003892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1925 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The next round of talks between the official delegations of Russia and Estonia began June 2 in Lohusalu in the suburbs of Tallinn.

The Republic's Defense Minister Mr Toomas Puura who is a member of the Estonian delegation gave a telephone interview for Baltfax revealing that the talks will essentially focus on the terms of withdrawal of the former USSR troops from the territory of Estonia, as well as on the issues of property. The Estonian delegation is also raising the problem of the CIS naval training center in the Paldiski demanding that it be closed down and the training nuclear reactors on its territory dismantled and withdrawn. They also request that the customs and border guard control be introduced in Paldiski and near it in the out of bounds area.

In the words of Mr Puura, the positions of the Russian delegation did not change. "The members of the Russian delegation have not shown any willingness to meet halfway the ambitions of the Estonian delegation", he noted.

On June 3, the talks will be resumed.

Opposes Lease Plan

LD0206135792 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Russia has a particular interest in two ports, one in Latvia and the other—Paldiski—in Estonia. It would like to conclude a separate agreement on these, but the Estonian position on the withdrawal of all Russian troops remains unchanged. This is what Estonian Deputy Defense Minister Toomas Puura told ETA.

Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov said in Kaliningrad at the end of last week that Russia wants talks with the Baltic states about an agreement of this kind, which would lease out some ports to Russia for 99 years.

Commenting on this idea, Toomas Puura said that Estonia will never agree to this. From a purely economic point of view, leasing out a good port which does not freeze over might cause a substantial loss to the republic, Puura noted.

Puura also said Russia was once also interested in a gunnery range in Hara Bay [on the northern coast of Estonia], but recently its interest has evaporated.

Puura said also that if the next round in the Estonian-Russian talks, due to begin tomorrow at Lohusalu, ends without any results, Estonia will call for these issues to be resolved at a higher level.

Document Signed

OW0406135292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1336 GMT 4 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the talks between Russia and Estonia in Lohusalu (suburbs of Tallinn) yesterday, the parties signed the first document—on the establishment of consular relations between the two republics. The agreement will go into effect after its signing by the Estonian and Russian foreign ministers.

According to Interfax earlier reports, the Estonian delegation announced this Wednesday [3 June] that it wishes to suspend its talks with Russia on the withdrawal of the former USSR troops from the republic due to Russia's recalcitrant position at the talks.

Talks Suspended

OW0306192992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1818 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia has decided to suspend talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its territory due to Russia's position on the issue.

As BF [BALTFAX] reported earlier, the Russian-Estonian talks are currently taking place in Lohusalu near Tallinn.

An official statement of the Estonian delegation says that Russia's position is unacceptable to Estonia. Russia insists that the withdrawal can start not earlier than in 1994. The Estonian delegation has the impression that the Russian delegation at talks is under certain pressure from the military.

The statement points out that the Estonian delegation does not see any opportunity to reach agreement on the withdrawal at current talks. Estonia retains the right to appeal to the Russian leadership, other states and international organizations to prompt the withdrawal of foreign troops from Estonia.

The talks continue in working groups, save for the group dealing with military issues.

UK's Hurd Views Talks

LD0306202992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Estonia has halted talks on the withdrawal of troops from its territory. It is not satisfied with the way that Russia is not prepared to start withdrawing its troops before 1994. Estonia feels the Russian stance has been adopted under pressure from the military, and it plans to start exerting counterpressure through the world community.

British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd stated today that Russia's refusal to set specific dates for the withdrawal of its troops from the Baltic region could prove to be more explosive than the events taking place in Yugoslavia.

Draft Law on Foreign Acquisitions Approved

LD2005165192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1833 GMT 19 May 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Tallinn—Deputy Minister of Industry and Energy of the Estonian Republic Riivo Siniyarv: Foreigners may start to buy Estonia's state property earlier than Estonian citizens. On May 18, the first deputy minister of industry and energy of the Estonian Republic also said that such a paradoxical situation emerged due to incomplete legislation (the law on basic provisions for the property reform and the law on land of Estonia were passed almost half a year ago). According to Riivo Siniyarv, as of May 18, the government of the Estonian Republic approved in general the draft resolutions on procedures for sales of state property to foreign individuals and on procedures for lease of land for foreign individuals. It is expected that such transactions will be effected only through an auction sale.

Latvia

Minister Says U.S. To Give Military Aid

LD0306202492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1622 GMT 3 Jun 92

[From "Military News" section]

[Text] Riga—Latvia's Deputy Defence Minister Valdis Pavlovskis: The U.S. Government may help Latvia in buying U.S. arms. Addressing a news conference on June 2 in the wake of his visit to the U.S.A., Valdis Pavlovskis also said: The U.S. Government supports the republic's defence concept and will help it to buy arms making it conditional, however, on Latvia's guaranteeing their use only for defence needs and not starting to re-sell them. The defence minister also said that Latvia's Defence Ministry has received 50,000 [currency not specified] from the U.S. Government for servicemen to be taught English.

Defense, Political Ties With Nations Examined

OW1905142792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1343 GMT 19 May 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's military concept has it that all conflicts should be resolved by political means, said Talavs Jundzis, the Republic's Defence Minister, at a press conference in Riga this Monday [18 May]. With this goal in mind, the Defence Ministry is expending its external political relations with various countries.

The Republic's most significant attainment has become its status as an observer in the North-Atlantic Assembly and its membership in the NATO Council for North-Atlantic Cooperation. Mr Jundzis also made a point of his department's agreeable relations with their colleagues in Denmark, Poland, Sweden, Germany, Great Britain, and France.

In the words of the Latvian Defense Minister, the Republic has significantly promoted its cooperation in the area of border, sea and air-space control, and in the development of the system of information and liaison with the armed forced of Lithuania and Estonia.

Mr Jundzis also informed that the Polish defense minister is planning to visit Latvia in the near future.

Town of Ventspils Recieves Military Airfield

OW2805142292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1339 GMT 28 May 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The armed forces of the former USSR have given over a military airfield worth 20 million rubles to the authorities of the Latvian town of Ventspils. This was the first major item of ex-Soviet armed forces property to be passed to Latvia.

In an interview with the DIENA newspaper, the mayor of Ventspils, Aivars Lembergs, said this had been done in a civilized manner, and that the airfield was in adequate condition. The town authorities were planning to turn it into a civilian airport.

Lembergs also said the Ventspils authorities would soon also take over the buildings belonging to an antiaircraft division stationed locally and were willing to pay partial compensation for them.

Licensing Rules for NWGF Air Force Detailed

PM0106151592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 May 92 p 3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Zadubrovskiy: "Latvia Introduces Licensing of Northwestern Group of Forces Without Consultation With Russia"]

[Text] Riga—By resolution of the Latvian Government, a provision has been introduced on the use of airspace which envisages licensing the activity of Northwestern Group of Forces [NWGF] aircraft. In order to obtain licenses (the right to use airspace) it is necessary to submit a working application 30 days prior to the planned event. This application must indicate the kind of working activity envisaged, the conditions for carrying out the flights, airfield details, a plan of air traffic movements, zones of responsibility, airfield electronic systems, radio communications, and so forth. The Latvian Defense Ministry Licensing Commission will subsequently examine the applications and appended documentation, and inspect the military unit with a view to determining the technical feasibility of its carrying out its stated activity.

It need hardly be said that this innovation to a considerably limits and places under Latvian Defense Ministry control the functioning of the NWGF aviation subunits, combat hardware, and servicing and logistical backup systems and installations, which come under the jurisdiction of another state—the Russian Federation. Meanwhile, the Russian Federation Foreign and Defense Ministries have not even been informed of the new Latvian Government decision. The contents of the provision have merely been notified to NWGF military command organs. As Major General of Aviation M. Lipatov, commander of the group's air forces, stated, airborne units greeted with confusion and misunderstanding the statement by Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis that he assesses the lack of license applications from NWGF Air Force units as indicating that they have "suspended their legitimate activity in using Latvian Republic airspace."

Lithuania

Landsbergis Answers Questions on Referendum

LD2505000792 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 24 May 92

[News conference by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis on the 23 May Lithuanian presidency referendum, at the Supreme Council building—live]

[Excerpts] [LIETUVOS AIDAS correspondent Zitkus] Esteemed Chairman, a sufficiently clear territorial division is apparent from the voting results. The people of the highlands and lowlands were the most active participants. Is it possible to assert that affairs of the state are of the most interest to regions from which Lithuania evolved sometime ago?

[Landsbergis] I do not know whether it is possible to draw such historical conclusions, since during Lithuania's rebirth at the end of the 19th century and while proceeding in the direction of the restoration of independence, Suvalkija [the Suvalkai area adjacent to Poland] played a very great role, as did Marijampole.

I think that a certain manner of organization could have had significance, as could the propoganda that was carried out within the rayons. People used to ask when I visited certain areas of Lithuania whether it was true that the referendum was being organized by the political force that was speaking out against the referendum. How could a political force in control of the local government be organizing a referendum of which it does not approve? How, they asked me, could be assessed from the moral point of view? Of course, there is no easy answer, I used to tell them. One should trust that state administrative representatives are conducting themselves, under these circumstances, as men of state and not according to party orders. One must hope that they will conducst themselves conscientiously.

[Unidentified moderator] Thank you, go ahead.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Chairman, apparently the referendum results are not going to change much from this point on. Please tell us how, in your estimation, the events should now unfold. Thank you.

[Landsbergis] Events in Lithuania have a schedule of their own. On this schedule there will only be one possible act missing that could have taken place—presidential elections, which could have been held sometime at the beginning of fall. Moreover, preparations would have now begun for them, and a clarification of certain platforms, programs, and candidates would have assisted in regulating political tensions within society and in letting the people decide the questions that currently are of concern for many and give rise to worries or to certain confrontations.

There now exists no channel for letting these tensions dissipate naturally in the form of a presidential election, since the referendum has not yielded a positive juridical result. Thus, the existing situation is the same and follows the same schedule within which new Supreme Council, or Seimas, elections have become apparent. [sentence as heard] The principal direction of political life will be toward new elections. Perhaps they would have been held together with the presidential elections, and perhaps this could be the case even now. In any case, some type of presidential election law will have to be readied. All the political forces and existing constitution drafts provide for a presidential post, with only somewhat different authorizations. It is also possible that the parliamentary elections will take place first, followed later by presidential elections. Consultations will be needed and some political activity within the parliament and society.

[Moderator] Thank you. Go ahead.

[German correspondent in German fading into Lithuanian translation] [passage indistinct]

[Landsbergis] The draft constitution which has been prepared by the parliamentary commission majority, which is popularly referred to as the Lapinskas draft, has some shortcomings, but not necessarily within the section which outlines the presidential authorizations. To me it appears imperfect and dangerous in other areas, especially in the last section where almost no possibilities are left to change that constitution following its adoption. I have emphasized that more than once.

The draft constitution proposal submitted by the Sajudis Coalition for a Democratic Lithuania should, at the very least, be deliberated on a parallel basis, as a parallel proposal. I have spoken in favor of this and will continue to speak in favor, so that one proposal only is not preferred with the aid of some sort of formal procedures.

[Moderator] Thank you. Go ahead.

[ELTA correspondent] Mr. Chairman, how do you link the results of this referendum with the future referendum? What thoughts does it prompt? I also want to ask Electoral Commission Chairman Litvinas whether there have there been any violations? Have any been recorded?

[Landsbergis] I can reply briefly that as to the second referendum, the results of this referendum give rise to some concern. This concern has existed previously. I was aware that separating these two referendums on different days would mean diminishing the turnout percentage. I was against the fact that, by a small parliamentary majority, we proposed separating them. I am afraid that this may have an impact on the second referendum.

[Litvinas] Certain misunderstandings always arise among those participating in a referendum and in the work of the electoral commissions. In certain locations yesterday we felt—and I am making a personal assumption—that the referendum may not take place on 23 May, since a compromise had been sought that it might take place on 7 June. Such variants had been proposed up until the last moment. A certain segment of the population had not set their citizenship documents. Over the last days we simply encountered an emergency situation with the passport issuing service where people simply stormed the passport offices, seeking to get their citizenship documents in order. Although it would seem that this should not be our concern, this was one side of our problem.

The other side of the problem was linked with the fact that our referendum commissions were not active. There was not a mobilization in the sense that we were expecting that the referendums would be moved to one day—7 June. The people were waiting until the last moment, asking us and telephoning us to find out whether it would be on 7 June after all. They said: Perhaps we should not deliver the invitations yet; perhaps we should wait a while; perhaps we should do something? In truth, during the final days there a storm developed and things were simply being carried out in a hurry, perhaps not very attentively. Without doubt, this rush caused certain errors to appear. Apparently not all the people received invitations to vote. this was attested to by telephone calls, especially in the past few days.

Certain violations have also been recorded, but these have only been received by telephone so far. We know that there have been misunderstandings at one of the electoral districts in Marijampole Rayon. We know that certain violations have taken place in Pakruojys Rayon, at one of the districts in Kaisiadoriai Rayon, and at one of the Kaunas Rayon districts. However, this is only a preliminary statement on my part. We will await the arrival of the commission members with the referendum results. We will look over the decisions made by them and see whether they are in keeping with the referendum law requirements. Then final decisions will be adopted by the republic Electoral Commission.

[Moderator] Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Landsbergis] [passage omitted] Perhaps everybody has made political conclusions that the new elections to the Supreme Council or Seimas must be held. The elections could be held on the proportional basis, on a two-party basis, in the sense of a contest between the two blocs, but I doubt this. I question whether the people understand the proportional principle. Of course, if there is a choice of two, then the people would understand, but if there are a great number of names from various parties, then I am afraid we would see a very bad result, a very weak one, or even the election of parliament by a minority of voters as happened in Poland. In this case, I think we should adhere to the majority principle so that the people can vote not only according to the programs but also by seeing the people they are electing.

[BALTIC INDEPENDENCE reporter] What is the position of the Lithuanian Government and Mr. Vagnorius on the results?

[Landsbergis] The problem of the government is problem No. 1 that will have to be discussed this week. Perhaps decisions by the Supreme Council will have to be made. I do not know if the results of the referendum have considerably changed or will change anything, because the opinions that formed among the deputies at the Supreme Council seem to be rather constant. I had consultations with the leaders of various factions last week concerning how we are going to arrive at a solution to the government problem. I will continue these consultations.

[RESPUBLIKA reporter Zukas] Do you think the results of the referendum could increase the split in the parliament, which was already considerably split last week? Have you changed your opinion concerning the elections to the Supreme Council? When a vote was taken whether this question should be included on the agenda, you did not vote. What would you do now?

[Landsbergis] Perhaps I did not vote accidentally; perhaps while present in the hall I did not press the button on time. Nobody doubts that the elections should be held. I do not have any doubts about it either. [passage omitted]

Concerning the split, I hope there is not a bigger one. It seems to me that the tension increased when the referendum was approaching. Perhaps it also aggravated the relations and diminished possibilities to reach an agreement. I was sure that after the referendum we would be able to work more constructively and look for an agreement on the solution of various issues, starting with the issue of the government.

[Unidentified reporter] Esteemed chairman, do you think that having received such results the militant, radical part of society could attempt to solve these matters in the streets and squares? In this case your position would be of great importance. What would your position be?

[Landsbergis] My position would be the same one I voiced before, which is that we should resolve the issues by voting.

[Name indistinct, in English, with superimposed Lithuanian translation] [Words indistinct] the majority of parliament is against you, and these opinions are not changing. Does this make you think that you should resign, or do you want to continue to be the chairman of the parliament?

[Landsbergis] I spoke about rather constant opinions on the issue of the government and the resignation of the prime minister. I got this impression from the consultations with the heads of the factions last week. I will continue the discussions on this issue. [passage omitted]

[FREE EUROPE reporter] I would like to know what your assessment of yesterday's prognosis by the state newspaper [LIETUVOS AIDAS] is when it said that you would be removed from power and that the results of the referendum could be suicidal to you, and that your deputies, Kazimieras Motieka and Romuladas Ozolas, have a mission to reinforce the presence of foreign troops in Lithuania? Thank you.

[Landsbergis] I do not remember such details, for I did not have the time to study the newspapers yesterday. However, there is no basis to contemplate suicide, I can assure you of that. What was it you wanted to know? Whether I will be removed? Removing me is very easy. This could have been done a week ago or a month ago or a year ago. Perhaps a year ago the distribution of votes was not right in the factions, in summing the factions' votes and so on. Therefore, there is a possibility if one looks at it in a rather mechanical and arithmetical way. If the issue is viewed from the point of view of a state, the politicians and the deputies would say if this is necessary and if this is what has to be done. I do not think that anyone will carry out experiments. This would hardly be thinking with the state in mind. If it is firmly decided and there is a candidate, then of course this can be done.

[Question indistinct]

[Landsbergis] The fact that we have a big neighbor in the east who would like to keep us in its wardship and to influence Lithuanian policies in general, poses a danger of this influence being conducted through the parliament. There is nothing very surprising in that. [passage omitted] I have asked the so-called left-wing factions or parties on more the one occasion to give a clear opinion about possible pressures on Lithuania concerning rapprochement or joining the CIS. I asked this to help the people of Lithuania be less worried if they know the stand of the parties clearly on this issue. [passage omitted]